

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VOLUME IX, PART II
FOR
THE YEAR 1916-1917



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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Mississippi valley historical association held two meetings during the year 1916-1917. The tenth annual meeting took place in Chicago, April 26-28, 1917. Of the twenty-two papers read at the sessions, six are here printed in full and sixteen are printed by title only, with references to where they have been or are to be published. Abstracts of all these papers will be found, however, in the account of the annual meeting. The other meeting, which came first in point of time, was the customary December gathering in connection with the meeting of the American historical association, held this year in Cincinnati. An account of this meeting will be found in the report of the secretary-treasurer, and abstracts of the papers read at the joint session on December 29 are printed in the *American historical review* for April, 1917 (p. 526). Three of these papers are here printed by title.

In accordance with the plan announced in the PROCEEDINGS for 1915-1916, this issue is designated as part II of volume IX and is paged consecutively with part I, the expectation being that the next two or three issues will be included in the same volume, the last to contain an index for the whole.

The association is again indebted to Mr. Beverley W. Bond, Jr., of Purdue university for the preparation of the account of the annual meeting, which will be recognized as no small task when the number of papers to be abstracted is taken into consideration. In the preparation of copy for the printer and the reading of the proofs the editor has had the assistance of Miss Franc Potter and Miss Jeannette Saunders of the editorial staff of the Minnesota historical society.

SOLON J. BUCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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CONSTITUTION¹

I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi valley historical association.

II — OBJECT

The object of the association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi valley.

III — MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the association shall be a president, and a secretary-treasurer, who with nine other active members, and such ex-presidents of the association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the executive committee. Providing that all ex-presidents who have served on the executive committee for six consecutive years shall from and after that time no longer be ex-officio members of the executive committee.

The president, secretary-treasurer, and three members of the executive committee shall be elected at the annual meeting each year. The president and secretary-treasurer shall hold office for one year, the members of the executive committee for three years or until their successors are elected and have qualified.

The executive committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the association, including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the executive

¹ As amended at the ninth annual meeting, April, 1916.

committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

At the first meeting of the executive committee after the annual election, one of its members shall be selected as chairman of the executive committee. It shall be his duty to preside at meetings of the committee and, in the absence of the president, at meetings of the association, and he shall succeed to the office of president in case of a vacancy.

V — MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the executive committee may determine.

VI — DUES

The annual dues for individual active members shall be three dollars. The annual dues for library members shall be four dollars. Sustaining members—either individuals or institutions—shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars.

VII — AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive committee.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES FOR THE YEAR 1916-1917

FREDERIC L. PAXSON, *President*

CLARENCE S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Deceased June 14, 1916

MRS. CLARA PAINE, *Acting Secretary-Treasurer*

Lincoln, Nebraska

Executive Committee

In addition to the officers named above

Ex-Presidents

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BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

JAMES A. JAMES

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN

DUNBAR ROWLAND

Elected

MILO M. QUAIFFÉ

JAMES F. WILLARD

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ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

EUGENE M. VIOLETTE

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HOWARD C. HILL, *Secretary*

DANA C. MUNRO

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JONAS VILES

MAX SOUBY

Appointive Committees

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Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library Equipment for History in Secondary Schools — Oliver M. Dickerson, Winona, Minnesota, chairman; L. M. Larson, St. G. L. Sioussat, J. C. Hill, W. H. Shephard, Victoria Adams, Florence Hopkins.

La Salle Memorial Committee — William O. Hart, New Orleans, chairman; W. F. McCaleb, Archibald Henderson, L. H. Brewer, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, James Hazen Hyde.

Committee on the Marking of Historical Sites — William E. Connelley, Topeka, Kansas, chairman; Logan Esarey, O. A. Rothert, E. C. Barker.

Committee on the Management of State Historical Museums — Charles E. Brown, Madison, Wisconsin, chairman; G. B. Grinnell, William Beer, E. C. Page, Louis Pelzer, J. C. Smiley, M. R. Gilmore.

Committee on the Administration of State Historical Societies — John T. Lee, Madison, Wisconsin, chairman; Dan E. Clark, Elizabeth Crowther, Harlow Lindley, F. E. Melvin.

Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum — Carl E. Pray, Ypsilanti, Michigan, chairman; F. H. Hodder, D. C. Shilling, R. G. Wellington.

Nominating Committee for the Tenth Annual Meeting — Harlow Lindley, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, chairman; E. M. Violette, Dr. O. L. Schmidt.

Program Committee for the Tenth Annual Meeting — Royal B. Way, Beloit, Wisconsin, chairman; B. W. Bond, Jr., I. J. Cox, W. E. Dodd, A. O. Thomas.

Committee on Local Arrangements for the Tenth Annual Meeting — Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago, chairman; A. H. Shearer, Caroline M. McIlvaine, Victoria S. Adams, E. E. Ayer, C. G. Dawes, C. L. Hutchinson, Seymour Morris, E. L. Ryerson, Cornelia B. Williams, C. A. Burley, C. F. Gunther, C. H. McCormick, Joy Morton, J. A. Spoor, C. H. Wacker.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES FOR THE YEAR 1917-1918

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, *President*
MRS. CLARENCE S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Lincoln, Nebraska

Executive Committee

In addition to the officers named above

Ex-Presidents

ISAAC J. COX (1921), *Chairman*

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN (1918)	DUNBAR ROWLAND (1922)
JAMES A. JAMES (1920)	FREDERIC L. PAXSON (1923)

Elected

MELVIN J. WHITE (1918)	EUGENE M. VIOLETTE (1919)
JAMES F. WILLARD (1918)	CLARENCE W. ALVORD (1919)
EDGAR R. HARLAN (1918)	ORIN G. LIBBY (1920)
ARCHER B. HULBERT (1919)	ALBERT H. SANFORD (1920)
HOMER C. HOCKETT (1920)	

Executive Committee of the Teachers' Section

R. M. TRYON (1920), *Chairman*
HOWARD C. HILL (1918), *Secretary*
University of Chicago High School

JONAS VILES (1918)	MAX SOUBY (1919)
AUGUSTUS O. THOMAS (1919)	OSCAR H. WILLIAMS (1920)

Appointive Committees

The standing committees for 1916-1917 were retained for 1917-1918 without change in membership.

Nominating Committee for the Eleventh Annual Meeting — Benjamin F. Shambaugh, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, chairman; A. C. Cole, Theodore Jack.

Program Committee for the Eleventh Annual Meeting — Chauncey S. Boucher, Washington University, St. Louis, chairman; J. D. Hicks, R. M. Tryon, W. J. Trimble, W. L. Fleming.



THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The tenth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association was held in Chicago, April 26-28, 1917. The headquarters of the association were in the rooms of the Chicago historical society, where most of the sessions were held. With its exceedingly valuable and interesting collections, the society's building formed an ideal setting for what proved to be a most delightful and profitable meeting. One session was held in the Newberry library, and here, too, the members of the association found a most congenial atmosphere. Of special interest was an exhibit of rare maps and books that had been arranged by the library officials. For the excellent accommodations provided, and for the many courteous attentions shown, the association is greatly indebted to Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the chairman, to Mr. Augustus H. Shearer, the vice-chairman, and to the other members of the committee on local arrangements. The general appreciation of these arrangements, and of the excellent program offered, was shown by the large attendance of the members of the association and of visitors.

The program measured up to the usual high standards of the Mississippi valley historical association. The papers were presented in an interesting fashion and were upon topics of importance. Most of them represented research in the history of the middle west, but there were several which dealt with other fields of historical interest. Also, a number of papers and discussions of a practical nature illustrated the wide range of interests covered by the Mississippi valley historical association. One commendable feature of the program was the endeavor to group the papers, as far as possible, so that each session should be devoted to the consideration of a single historical field, or to one topic. By this arrangement the effectiveness of the different sessions was much increased. Another most excellent feature of the meeting was the fact that, with the exception of the

teachers' section on Saturday morning, all the papers listed on the program were presented, and it was not necessary, as has so often been the case heretofore, to read a part of them by title only. It is to be hoped that this precedent will be followed in the future, for a meeting at which only a part of the program is carried out can never be entirely successful. Mr. Frederic L. Paxson, president of the association, presided on Thursday, but was called to Washington on important business connected with the war, so Mr. Isaac J. Cox, chairman of the executive board, filled his place at the remaining sessions.

The wide range and the importance of the papers and discussions can best be shown by a brief analysis of each. For the opening session, Thursday afternoon, there was an interesting series of papers on the history of the middle west. The first one, by Mr. James A. James of Northwestern university, was a critical estimate of "The value of the memoir of George Rogers Clark as an historical document." This memoir, which is in the possession of the Wisconsin historical society, gives a detailed account of the author's activities in Virginia, Kentucky, and the northwest, from the close of the year, 1773, to September, 1779. Its trustworthiness was first challenged by Theodore Roosevelt, upon the ground that, inasmuch as the memoir had been written thirty or forty years after the events with which it deals, it should not be given much weight. Mr. James, however, maintained that the greater part of the memoir was written in 1789 and 1790. This conclusion he supported by references to the memoir in Clark's correspondence with John Brown, delegate to congress from Kentucky. The value of the contents he showed by a comparison with Clark's letter to George Mason, with his journal, with his diary, and with Bowman's journal, all of which are generally accepted as authentic. Mr. James concluded that "the memoir can no longer be thought of as the reminiscences of an old man who strove for the dramatic in his presentation of facts." Rather it must be accepted as a trustworthy supplement to each of the main sources for the period on certain points, and to all of them in a number of essential particulars. Mr. James's paper was an interesting and instructive example of the critical and scholarly analysis that must underly any estimate of the actual value of historical sources.

Next, Mr. William W. Sweet of De Pauw university gave an interesting paper on early religious history in the middle west, under the title, "The coming of the circuit rider across the mountains." Mr. Sweet emphasized the adaptability of the Methodist system—lay preachers and the circuit plan of organization—as well as of the church doctrines, to meet the needs of the frontier. As a consequence of these factors, the growth of the Methodist denomination in the region across the mountains was rapid. Kentucky, Tennessee, and western Pennsylvania were first covered with a network of circuits and districts, and with the onward movement of population, missionaries were sent into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and even Missouri. In 1800 the western conference was organized, including all the settlements in the territory west of the Alleghanies. Bishop Asbury crossed the mountains eighteen times, in order to hold conferences and to encourage the people. The influence of the circuit riders on the west was not merely a religious and moral one, for the orderly Methodist system of church government must have exercised a far-reaching influence in a more or less disorderly community. Mr. Sweet held that the circuit rider, contrary to the general impression, stood for moderation in religious practices, and seldom, if ever, encouraged emotional excesses. Also, Methodism was peculiarly effective in this region, inasmuch as it was able to follow immediately a moving population.

The next paper was an interesting account of "The military-Indian frontier, 1830-1835," by Miss Ruth Gallaher, a graduate student in Iowa university. During the period under consideration, the western frontier might have been represented by a triangle with its apex at Fort Leavenworth, the end of one side at Detroit, and of the other at New Orleans. Along this 1,500 miles of frontier, the United States maintained an army usually of less than 2,500 men, who garrisoned a score of posts, including especially Fort Howard, Fort Snelling, Jefferson Barracks, Fort Armstrong, Fort Crawford, Fort Gibson, and Fort Leavenworth. Life at these frontier posts was strenuous and monotonous. The soldiers protected the white settlers from the Indians, constructed buildings, and undertook expeditions against distant tribes. No provision was made for either their recreation or education. Their food consisted chiefly of meat, and flour

or meal, and up to December, 1830, there was a whiskey ration. Privates were paid five dollars a month, and non-commissioned officers ten dollars. Aside from intemperance, the greatest menace to the soldiers was the prevalence of such diseases as cholera, yellow fever, and scurvy. Most of the losses in the ranks, however, were due to desertions, which were estimated at one-fifth of this frontier army.

In the last paper of this session, "Glimpses of some old Mississippi river posts," Mr. Louis Pelzer of Iowa university added an interesting chapter to the valuable contributions he has already made to early military history in the upper Mississippi valley. He gave a picture of life at Fort Des Moines and at Jefferson Barracks, as it was experienced by the First regiment of United States dragoons. At the latter post recruits from nearly every state were trained for service on the western plains. Suffering from the lack of adequate clothing and shelter, squads of these embryo soldiers were put to work building stables and roads. Cartridge boxes, holsters, and arms were lacking, desertions were of almost nightly occurrence, and deserters were severely punished. But the raw recruits were finally rounded into a well-trained regiment under the command of Colonel Henry Dodge, and expeditions were sent from Jefferson Barracks into different parts of the Mississippi valley.

Fort Des Moines was established as a temporary post at the mouth of the Des Moines river between 1834 and 1837, and from this headquarters an expedition was despatched through Iowa and far to the northwest, into Minnesota. Mr. Pelzer described in an interesting fashion the hardships, the illnesses, and the monotonous duties of the soldiers that were stationed at Fort Des Moines. The few ladies at the post provided a small amount of pleasant social life, and occasionally brightly dressed young soldiers went across the river to Commerce, in Illinois, to the hospitable stone house of James White. Here, with partners on the smooth floor, and "amid the strains of tortured catgut," they forgot the irksome duties of barrack life at Fort Des Moines. Finally in the spring of 1837 about fifteen dragoons, the remnants of the garrison, bade a last and perhaps a hearty farewell to what, in Mr. Pelzer's opinion, had proved to be a rather "inglorious" western post. These nar-

ratives of life in frontier posts closed an exceedingly interesting session.

At the evening session on Thursday, Mr. Clarence A. Burley, president of the Chicago historical society, was in the chair and welcomed the members and visitors in attendance upon the association. The principal feature of the evening was the presidential address of Mr. Frederic L. Paxson upon "The rise of sports, 1876-1893." This unique and most entertaining address was typical of the fashion in which the present school of American historians, of which Mr. Paxson is so leading an exponent, seeks to explain the effect upon our national attitude of changes in our every-day life and thus to account for present-day developments. Mr. Paxson pointed out the necessity, after the disappearance of the American frontier, of some new outlet through which to work off superfluous energy. This need was met by a rising interest in sports. Showing the rapid development and the gradual organization of sports, he traced the popular enthusiasm for horse racing, for yachting, and for boxing. After calling attention to the enthusiasm which greeted the late champion, John L. Sullivan, he noted the organization of baseball as a national sport. With the growth of cities and the need for exercise came the many athletic clubs, and the numerous amateur unions. The craze for croquet and for roller skating, together with the evolution and widespread use of the bicycle, bringing so many people into the open, was noted, as also the vogue of lawn tennis. The recent growth of the country club movement, and of golf, added to the popularity of the automobile, has served still further to increase the zest of the American people for outdoor life.

The period in which this expansion of sport was most notable, in Mr. Paxson's opinion, was between 1876 and 1893. During this time all our games expanded upon a widening scale, and by organization their government became "quasi-national." Added to the disappearance of the frontier, the needs of city life, also, helped in this movement, but whatever the causes, the effects upon our national life and attitude have been of the utmost importance. The "hysteria" of the past has been replaced by a "better deliberation and balance." Moral indifference to means has given way to a real concern for honest

methods. Public opinion is forcing those who would not reform of their own volition "into a reluctant compliance with the rules." Personal behavior, too, has greatly improved, and the influence of our changed attitude is evident in the prospects for a dry America with equal rights for all. Mr. Paxson intimated that the interest of women in lawn tennis and in cycling has probably been one of the great forces in bringing about suffrage reform. Moreover, the results of honest sport have perhaps served to "steady and inspire a new Americanism for a new century." The entire address was of much intrinsic interest and indicated a thorough and inclusive research into an extensive field, in addition to a philosophical analysis of the details presented.

For the morning session on Friday at the Newberry library, there was an interesting series of papers which dealt with phases of middle-western and southern history, and with practical historical work. The first, by Mr. Wayne E. Stevens of the university of Minnesota, was on the topic, "Fur-trading companies in the northwest, 1760-1816." Up to 1800, Mr. Stevens pointed out, British traders, operating from Montreal as a base, were in almost exclusive control of the fur trade in the great lakes region and in the upper Mississippi valley. During the revolution and the years immediately following, they built up the business organization which was the foundation of the great trading companies that eventually controlled the commerce of the northwest. The earliest of these associations was the North-west company, formed by a number of Montreal merchants in 1783 and 1784. This company gradually absorbed all its rivals, with the exception of the Hudson's bay company, until it monopolized the trade of the region to the northwest of lake Superior. The commerce of the country to the south of the great lakes was exploited by individual merchants and small trading concerns up to 1806, when a group of Canadian merchants formed the Michillimackinac company. The success of this new enterprise was short-lived, however, owing to the rivalry of the United States government factories, together with John Jacob Astor's American fur company, and to the political difficulties between the United States and Great Britain. In 1810 the Michillimackinac company was succeeded

by the Montreal-Michillimackinac company, and in 1811 this new association was merged with the American fur company in the South-west company. When congress in 1816 excluded British traders from American territory, Astor bought out the interest of the Montreal-Michillimackinac company in the South-west company and thus secured control over a large share of the fur trade in the great lakes region and in the upper Mississippi valley. This step completed the transition from British to American ascendancy.

In the next paper, "The collapse of the confederacy," Mr. Lawrence H. Gipson of Wabash college analyzed the psychological factors which were, he considered, responsible for the defeat of the south in the civil war. In his opinion, the confederacy was sadly lacking in the four psychological factors necessary for the success of such a struggle. First, for the necessary leadership to inspire confidence Jefferson Davis did not possess the essential qualifications. He was inconsistent and lacked both vision and the ability to think clearly upon the many problems that arose. Although he was firmly devoted to the interests of the south, he failed to be a truly great leader owing to his blind sectionalism. Secondly, Mr. Gipson considered that the southern leaders, in standing for property rights as against human rights, turned their backs upon many of the great idealists who had been the leaders of their section. Thus, the south was unable to fight with a deep-seated belief in the righteousness of her cause. Thirdly, the south had no clear and well-defined goal for which she struggled and, therefore, failed to exert her maximum efficiency. Fourthly, and of greatest importance in Mr. Gipson's opinion, was the failure of the southern people to merge their personal preference in the common interests. This situation, he believed, was due chiefly to the individualistic organization of southern society. As proof of this assertion Mr. Gipson noted the continual quarrels in the confederate cabinet, the attacks by the press upon the president, and the quarrels between the central government and the states over such questions as conscription and martial law. But for these psychological defects, Mr. Gipson considered that it might have been possible for the south to have maintained herself as a separate nation.

The next paper, "The pioneer aristocracy," by Mr. Logan Esarey of Indiana university, was an exceedingly interesting account of the origin and customs of the early settlers in the Ohio valley. These pioneers were the descendants of emigrants who came originally from almost all the countries of Europe, and especially from southern Germany, France, Ireland, Scotland, and England. In the closing years of the eighteenth century they occupied the eastern and southern foothills of the Appalachians. In Pennsylvania they scattered along the mountain valleys and were known as the Pennsylvania Dutch. Another considerable portion of them lived in the Shenandoah valley, while a third center was in the upland region of the Carolinas and Georgia. From all these points they converged on the Ohio valley in their western migration. By the middle of the nineteenth century they had become firmly established in Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, where they formed the prevailing type. The methods of these pioneers in subduing the wilderness were set forth by Mr. Esarey, as well as their social pastimes, their religious and political beliefs, and their visions of the future.

This session concluded with a paper by Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook of the Minnesota historical society on "Some possibilities of historical field work." Mr. Holbrook gave a résumé of the methods used and the results of aggressive work by a field agent of the Minnesota historical society who is engaged in a county-to-county campaign. At present his work is centered upon a survey of county archives which will ultimately provide data for a guide to these records, as well as information regarding their condition. Results thus far have shown that there is much valuable historical material in these archives, but that conditions with respect to their permanence and accessibility are far from satisfactory. Also, lists are being kept of the newspaper files that are to be found in each locality, and in addition to the value of this information, important accessions have been secured for the society's collections. An attempt, also, to locate historical material in private hands has been rewarded by the acquisition of considerable printed and manuscript matter. Another important aspect of the field agent's work is to call attention to, and to enlist popular interest in,

historical activity. With the apt observation that in a first visit it is often possible only to commence a work that will be completed later as favorable opportunity arises, Mr. Holbrook concluded a paper that in practical suggestions for aggressive historical work was of the utmost value.

The afternoon session of Friday, like the one in the morning, offered a program that was partly practical, and partly representative of historical research. Preëminently of the former type was the first paper, by Mr. Paul F. Peck of Grinnell college, on "Latin-American history as a field of study for Mississippi valley students." In justification of his plea for undergraduate courses in Latin-American history, Mr. Peck showed the importance of Spanish influence upon the Mississippi valley during the period of exploration, during Spain's ownership of Louisiana, and during the diplomatic negotiations that culminated in the treaty of 1819. Still another reason for interest in Latin-American history is the close similarity in the topography and in the development of the economic and social problems of the valley of the Mississippi and of that of the Paraná. Lastly, the increasing interest in the west coast of South America, since the opening of the Panama canal, makes it incumbent upon the colleges and universities to afford their students an opportunity to study the history and the present conditions of this region. Latin-American history is preëminently suited for lecture work, but there is an abundance of material printed in English that is available for the use of the students who are taking courses covering this field. After an experience of six years, Mr. Peck has found that students take a keen interest in such a course. He has secured especially good results in the preparation by students of permanent charts of the varied economic and social problems of Latin-America. There should also be a "stiff dose" of Spanish and Portuguese history in order to afford a background for institutional development. Finally, a course in Latin-American history will put the student in touch with the aims and aspirations of other republics and will afford an appreciation of Pan-Americanism. In view of all these facts, Mr. Peck urged that an elective course of at least one year should be given in all the colleges and universities of the Mississippi valley.

The next two papers considered practical aspects of historical celebrations, and were both founded upon experience gained in the observance of the centennial of Indiana. As a number of states in the Mississippi valley are about to undertake similar celebrations, these papers were especially appropriate at the present time. The first one, by Mr. Bernard Sobel of Purdue university, discussed "Pageantry possibilities." Emphasizing the adaptability of a pageant to local conditions, Mr. Sobel considered that the two requisites for a successful performance are a genuinely patriotic spirit and a scenario that possesses unity. The latter may be secured either by a chronological order in the episodes, or by historical and symbolical characters which go through the entire pageant. Unity may also be achieved by the costumes, especially if there is a definite color scheme, while the music, preferably by a band, may be used in a significant fashion. The plot of the pageant should be simple, the main outline plastic and adaptable to interpolation. Detail and intricacy in the main theme are impracticable, and a few simply drawn characters should represent some definite purpose or event allied to the main episodes. In the episodes, drills, dances, and similar features may be introduced. The management of such details as rehearsals, advertising, and finances must be carefully considered, and of special importance is the libretto, which should give a complete interpretation of the various incidents. Questions of stage directions and of rehearsals must be left to the discretion of the pageant master, but it is exceedingly desirable that entrances and exits should follow one another in rapid succession, and that they should be rehearsed separately and repeatedly, in order to ensure smoothness and easy transitions. Mr. Sobel's entire paper was written from the standpoint of practicality, and it should prove a useful guide to anyone who attempts to stage an historical pageant.

The next paper, "Possibilities in state historical celebrations," was read by Mr. Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Indiana historical commission. This paper, also, was rich in useful suggestions drawn from practical experience. The Indiana historical commission was organized with \$25,000 at its disposal, of which \$5,000 was available for publications, and

the remainder for the celebration of the state centennial. The year's work of the commission had two important results; first, throughout Indiana a new interest has been aroused in state and local history; secondly, a marked community spirit and consciousness has been created. Still another important achievement is the impetus that has been given to the movement for a system of state parks. But much work was necessary in order to secure these results. The first problem was to arouse throughout the state an appreciation of the value of centennial observances. This was done by bulletins and newspaper articles, through the medium of county institutes, and by addresses before different organizations. Still another means of stimulating interest was the setting aside of February 22 as an Indiana products day, upon which banquets should be held with a menu of "home-grown dishes." Also, with the help of George Ade a unique invitation to home-coming week was gotten up, while lantern slides, in addition to the moving picture, "Indiana," were used in order to arouse popular enthusiasm for the centennial celebration.

The keynote of the commission's plans was to provide a decentralized celebration that would be state-wide in its scope. A centennial chairman was appointed in each county, and the general schedule provided for local and school celebrations early in the spring, to be followed by county observances in the fall. The program at these affairs usually included reunions, pageants, parades, and various patriotic exercises. Two celebrations of state-wide importance were held, one at Corydon and the other at Indianapolis. By the generally decentralized celebration, a keener appreciation of the history, resources, and possibilities of the state was developed, which should result in the future in a higher type of citizenship. The pageant was employed on a wide scale, as one of the best means to arouse interest. By a campaign of education, including a summer course at the state university, and by bulletins, an impetus was given to the movement for the use of pageantry in historical anniversaries. One notable result was the development of home talent, for of the forty-five pageants given, all but about a half-dozen were written in Indiana. It is estimated that as many as 250,000 citizens witnessed at least one pageant, and that

from 30,000 to 40,000 participated in such affairs. In conclusion, Mr. Lindley gave a number of hints as to the pitfalls which practical experience has shown await the promoters of a pageant. Also, he noted the chief requisites of a successful historical celebration. His paper was an effective illustration of what can be accomplished in state celebrations and was one that will be of great value to persons in other states who contemplate similar undertakings.

For the concluding paper of this afternoon session, Mr. Theodore C. Pease of the university of Illinois discussed the very interesting subject, "Nauvoo: a possible study in economic determinism." As the Mormon metropolis, Nauvoo attracted a population, of which the overwhelming proportion were laborers, that was much larger than its industrial development warranted. A number of manufactures were established, and there were several trade associations of laborers. But as there was never sufficient manufacturing to give employment to the population of 15,000 or more, the Mormon leaders were obliged to discourage intending settlers, although Joseph Smith used every possible pressure to induce Mormons possessing abundant capital to locate there. The necessity to provide work, Mr. Pease considered, probably accounted for the elaborate public buildings that were erected. Though the workmen employed on these improvements gave part of their time without charge, they were aided by tithes from their brethren who lived outside the town. This situation may account for the busy industry, the numerous public buildings, and the brick houses, as well as for the discontent of the laborers in Nauvoo. Mr. Pease concluded that whether the town, if left in peace, "could have reached a sound economic condition, or whether by economic laws it was doomed from its beginning, are questions interesting but unanswerable."

At the conclusion of this afternoon session the association adjourned to the Selig polyscope theater, 58 East Washington street. Here, through the courtesy of Mr. Robert C. Lieber of Indianapolis, the members enjoyed a view of the picture drama, "Indiana." In this fashion it was possible to secure an insight into at least a part of the practical work undertaken by the Indiana historical commission. Indeed, this little interlude

in the more serious activities of the day proved to be one of the most enjoyable, as well as profitable, events of the meeting.

For the evening session on Friday, the majority of the papers dealt with middle-western history. The first one, entitled "The influence of the west on the rise and fall of political parties," was read by Mr. Homer C. Hockett of Ohio state university. The paper considered chiefly the shifting of the center of economic and political power as a result of the change, between 1790 and 1830, in the relative weight of the population west and east of the Alleghanies from one in fifteen to six in fifteen. This growth in the west was responsible for the overthrow in 1800 of the federalist party, of which the stronghold was on the coast. Although the government's foreign policy from 1807 to 1815 drove many republican converts back to the federalist ranks, the recurrence of interest in western development after the war of 1812 brought about the end of the latter party. For another decade the chief element in the settlement of the west was the stock that had already won the Ohio valley for republicanism. But the economic development of the west and the south soon diverged. Under the leadership of Henry Clay the west formulated its economic creed in the so-called American system. The planter, however, refused to accept this theory, and by 1825 the two geographical sections which had been strongholds of republicanism held widely different views on national policy and constitutional interpretation. Thus, the decade, 1815-1825, saw the disintegration of both the old parties. Their elements, with those contributed by the new west, were poured into the melting pot, to emerge in new combinations.

The next paper, by Mr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Riverside high school, Milwaukee, discussed "A plan for the union of British North America and the United States, 1866." Mr. Blegen asserted that, according to Canadian public opinion, the chief motives for the abrogation of the Elgin-Marcy treaty were resentment over the attitude of Canada during the civil war, and the hope of compelling a political union of the Dominion with the United States. In 1866, a bill was introduced in the house of representatives which was in reality a standing offer that whenever any province wished to be annexed, it should be

admitted to the United States, subject to the approval of Great Britain. Taylor, the author of the bill, was an agent of the treasury department and was considered an authority on the Canadian northwest. The bill aroused much discussion, and Canadian newspapers regarded it as another proof of the motives they had ascribed in the abrogation of the Elgin-Marcy treaty. The real purpose of the bill was to further interest in the Northern Pacific railroad, and to help bring about the annexation of the Canadian northwest. Taylor believed that a popular vote in that region would favor such a move. In a similar belief the legislature of Minnesota urged the American government to take steps toward the annexation of western British America, while the United States senate adopted a resolution that was similar to Taylor's plan, but applied only to the northwest. The sentiment in favor of such a move was reflected in the attitude of Sumner and of President Grant, and in statements by Secretary Fish and by the British minister, Thornton. That the question of annexation or of independence should be submitted to the voters of the provinces affected, was frequently suggested. This agitation was effectually quieted by the Canadian attitude, by the treaty of Washington, by the settlement of the Riel disturbances, and by other events.

The next paper, entitled "President Lincoln and the Illinois radical republicans," was read by Mr. Arthur C. Cole of the university of Illinois. Mr. Cole showed that Lincoln entered upon his presidential career without a clear record as a radical opponent of the institution of slavery. With the outbreak of the war, the regular republican following in Illinois was rapidly converted to the abolition ground that this was a divinely appointed opportunity for a death struggle between freedom and slavery. But Lincoln soon announced various policies that greatly disappointed these radicals. They were especially worried by the lack of sufficient aggressiveness in the prosecution of the war upon the south and its institutions. Lincoln soon became the object of much party criticism and pressure which, although it does not seem seriously to have embarrassed his policies, doubtless hastened his decision to issue the emancipation proclamation. This belated action did not satisfy the radicals, and they criticized the general adminis-

tration of the war, the foreign policy of the government, and Lincoln's views on reconstruction. Also, they opposed his re-nomination, and later his election. But after the military victories of September, 1864, they generally went with the tide. After Lincoln's reelection, they still pressed their reconstruction policy, until his martyrdom shifted the controversy to Andrew Johnson.

The last paper of the evening was entitled "The formation of the American colonization society," and was read by Mr. Henry N. Sherwood of the state normal school, La Crosse, Wisconsin. Mr. Sherwood traced the organization of a national society in December, 1816, by several groups of men. Each of these groups had already advocated the deportation of the free negro beyond the limits of the white settlements of America and had, heretofore, acted independently of the others. The paper set forth the leadership and personnel of each group, as well as its specific recommendations. From this evidence Mr. Sherwood drew the conclusion that double dealing and insincere motives had little, if any, place in this meeting. The dominant purposes of the new organization were to deport all free negroes to Africa, to christianize that continent, to stop the slave trade, and to establish commerce in legitimate articles of trade between Africa and America. It was their intention to enlist the national government in the project. Among the most active men in bringing about the formation of the "American society for colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States" (the society was first known by this name) were Samuel J. Mills, Robert Finley, Charles Fenton Mercer, and Elias B. Caldwell. Mr. Sherwood's conclusions would seem to afford a starting point for the historian who would "disentangle the complicated web" of charges and countercharges made in connection with this society in later times.

On Saturday morning there was a joint meeting of the history teachers' section with the Cook county history teachers' association. In the absence of the chairman of this section, Mr. Augustus O. Thomas of Lincoln, Nebraska, Mr. Albert H. Sanford of the state normal school, La Crosse, Wisconsin, presided. Mr. R. M. Tryon of the university of Chicago discussed "Progress within the subject applied to high school history." Pointing

out the acknowledged need for a readjustment of the history course as it is given at present, Mr. Tryon's paper was an able plea for a recognition of the increasing maturity of the student. In spite of the fact that such progress cannot be obtained as easily in history as in Latin and mathematics, he considered that the problem is one that is capable of solution. After a careful and comprehensive analysis of the seemingly insurmountable difficulties to be overcome, Mr. Tryon showed by reference to the successive cycles of American history, as it is commonly taught in the grades, in the high school, and in the college, that too frequently there is little recognition of the principle of progress. This defect he would remedy, "first, by the teacher's method of procedure in teaching the subject; secondly, by a close organization of topics presented in two or more cycles, so that a higher level of ability will be demanded at each level; and, thirdly, by an organization and selection of the topics in each cycle so that there will be little or no repetition." Mr. Tryon also emphasized the necessity for work outside of the text, which should be used in the daily recitation. His paper was given point by a practical outline of the methods he proposed for the first, second, and third years of the high school, in order to apply the principle of progress within the subject. Altogether, he gave a most interesting and searching analysis of one of the most vital problems that confronts the history teacher. The paper elicited a spirited discussion.

The next paper, by Mr. W. H. Hathaway of Milwaukee, described a course in socialized civics, as it is given in the Riverside high school. The course covers one year and is designed for either third or fourth year students. The first semester, civics in general is considered, with the stress laid upon local affairs. The remainder of the course takes up social problems and is grouped about the following topics: conservation, the family, the unfortunate, and labor. This paper, also, was followed by an informal discussion, led in this instance by Mr. Byron C. Legg of the Mishawaka high school. Following this discussion, Mr. Beverley W. Bond, Jr. of Purdue university explained the purpose of a report by a committee of the Indiana history teachers' section for a revised history course in the high school. In brief, the report recommended that the first

year should be devoted to an introductory course, including oriental and ancient history and European history up to 1648, that the second year should include European history from 1648 to 1914, and the third year should be confined to American history and civics. The committee also recommended that social and economic history should receive at least as much attention as political. In addition to these papers and discussions, the teachers' section was honored with an informal talk by Mr. Henry Johnson of the Teachers' college, Columbia university, who happened to be in Chicago at this time. This entire session was an extremely helpful and suggestive one, although it was greatly to be regretted that two of the principal speakers on the program failed either to be present or to send in their papers.

As usual, one of the most enjoyable features of the meeting was the group of delightful social diversions provided by the committee on local arrangements. The first of these events was a most delightful and well-attended reception given by the Chicago historical society in their commodious rooms, at the conclusion of the Thursday evening session. On Friday, at noon, the Chicago historical society again acted as hosts, this time at luncheon at the Congress hotel. Immediately following this luncheon came the annual business meeting. The social affairs of the meeting were concluded on Saturday with an automobile drive through the park boulevard system of Chicago, which was still another instance of the thoughtfulness and courtesy of the local committee.

In every respect the tenth annual meeting was one of the most successful that the Mississippi valley historical association has ever had. The wide range of the papers, the many contributions to Mississippi valley history, as well as the attention given to various aspects of historical activity, testified to the effective work which is being carried on by the association. The fact, too, that so many of the members found time to come, many of them from a considerable distance, was an excellent proof of the real interest that is being aroused. In all, seventy-eight members registered, in comparison with fifty-eight at the Nashville meeting the previous year, while a large number were present who failed to register. This marked increase in the attendance at Chicago demonstrates the wisdom of holding the annual

meeting every other year at some convenient and centrally located point, with a session in alternate years at such distant cities as Nashville. By this policy a large attendance will be ensured biennially, while at the same time the necessity of extending the influence of the association will not be disregarded. It is to be hoped that this arrangement will become an established custom.

Especially gratifying was the report of the secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, which showed that the association's affairs are in excellent shape. The total income has not suffered, while the net assets show a gain of more than \$500.00 over 1916. Moreover, the abolition of the one dollar memberships has not resulted in the loss that was feared. In 1916 there were 481 subscribing members, as compared with 667 on April 30, 1917, or there was a gain of 186. This increase offset the loss of the one dollar members and is a tribute to the efficient work of the secretary-treasurer, especially in view of the untoward financial situation during the past year. If only this record can be kept up, the association should weather with perfect ease the present crisis in our national life. The *Review* should be on the shelves of every public and college library, for the material it contains is indispensable to a thorough study of the history of the Mississippi valley. In securing this result, and in extending the influence of the association, each member should bear a personal part.

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

MINUTES OF BUSINESS TRANSACTED AT THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The tenth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association was called to order at 2:30 P. M., Thursday, April 26, 1917, by the president, Frederic L. Paxson. The following committees were appointed: Committee on resolutions regarding the death of the former secretary-treasurer, Clarence S. Paine — Isaac J. Cox, chairman, and all the past presidents of the association present; Auditing committee — William E. Connelley, Solon J. Buck, Milo M. Quaife; Committee on resolutions — Logan Esarey, Aleida J. Pieters, Louis Pelzer.

President Paxson presented the following resolution:

The Mississippi valley historical association in session in Chicago, Illinois, at its tenth annual meeting, April 26, 1917, urges that means be taken by the government of the United States to facilitate the sound historical instruction of the people of the United States to the end that a correct public opinion with full knowledge of the facts that have made for our democracy and freedom in the past may stand stubbornly in our struggle for the maintenance of those principles in the future.

It was voted that the resolution be referred to the executive committee with power to act for the association in the premises. This resolution was approved by the executive committee.

The annual business meeting of the association was held immediately following the luncheon at the Congress hotel, April 27. In the absence of the president, the chairman of the executive committee, Isaac J. Cox, presided.

The following resolution prepared by the special committee was read by the chairman, C. W. Alvord:

Since the last annual meeting the association has lost by death its founder and best known member, Clarence S. Paine. In the fall of 1907 it was at the call of Mr. Paine that representatives of various western historical agencies met at Lincoln, Nebraska, and started the movement which led to the formation of the Mississippi valley historical association. From that date until his death Mr. Paine was secretary-treasurer of the

association and carried the burden of work upon his shoulders. He was more than an efficient official. His optimism and enthusiasm for the cause he had so much at heart inspired others and encouraged them to join their efforts with his. From the first Mr. Paine took his stand firmly for the highest ideals of scientific work and it was his influence more than that of any other which has given the association the good reputation it enjoys today. Mr. Paine was a man of financial genius and for years he was the pilot who steered the association safely away from the banks of bankruptcy, which frequently threatened it. During our long association with him, we, the members of the Mississippi valley association, learned to admire his ability and to love his personality; and at this first meeting since his death we take occasion to express to his wife, his family, and his state, the deep sense of obligation which we owe to him, and to give voice to our sympathy in their loss which in a very particular manner we share.

The resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

An informal report was presented by the editor of the *Mississippi valley historical review*. The report was accepted.

The report of the auditing committee was presented by the chairman, William E. Connelley, as follows:

Your committee appointed to audit the books and accounts of the association for the year ending with this annual meeting beg to submit the following report:

That the accounts for the year be approved together with the administration of them by the secretary-treasurer.

That the secretary-treasurer and the association be congratulated on the improved condition of the finances.

That in future the practice of payment by the association for the separates of articles be discontinued. Let the authors of contributions deal directly with the publisher under terms secured by the secretary-treasurer.

That the transactions of the association have grown to such proportions that the method of reporting to this body now in use is inadequate. It is impossible for an auditing committee intelligently to check the business for the entire year in any amount of time at its disposal at an annual meeting.

That it is our judgment the books and accounts of the association should, at the expense of the association, be audited annually immediately prior to the annual meeting by a recognized and responsible accounting company, and a complete exhibit of the transactions of the year should be shown in detail.

A summary of this exhibit should constitute the report of the secretary-treasurer, and should be subscribed and sworn to as required in banks and state offices. The report of the accounting company should be submitted with that of the secretary-treasurer, so that the auditing committee may be able quickly to prepare a report at the annual meeting.

The report was accepted and the recommendations adopted.

The report of the secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, was read and accepted.¹

The report of the nominating committee was presented by the chairman, Harlow W. Lindley, as follows:

For president — St. George L. Sioussat.

For secretary-treasurer — Mrs. Clarence S. Paine.

For members of the executive committee for three years — Orin G. Libby, Albert H. Sanford, and Homer C. Hockett.

For members of the executive committee of the teachers' section for three years — R. M. Tryon, chairman, and Oscar H. Williams.

For members of the board of editors for three years — Dan E. Clark, Isaac J. Cox, and Milo M. Quaife.

The report was accepted and the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the association for the officers as nominated.

On behalf of the Minnesota historical society, the association was invited to hold its eleventh annual meeting in St. Paul at the time of the dedication of the new historical building in that city. An invitation was presented from the chamber of commerce of La Crosse, Wisconsin, to meet in that city in 1918 on a date convenient to the association. After some discussion it was voted that the question of the place of meeting be referred to the executive committee. It was voted that the executive committee be directed to consider also the question of the advisability of meeting every two years or every three years in Chicago.

The following resolution was presented by Harlow Lindley:

Whereas, The dunes of Indiana, a wonderful region of unique characteristics and high historical value differentiated from all national parks in this country, have been recently recommended to congress for purchase as a national park by Secretary of the Interior Lane after

¹ See *post*, 244-248.

full investigation upon information presented by Director of National Parks Mather, and such acquisition has been endorsed by the governors of the two great states of Indiana and Illinois, and

Whereas, These dunes should be preserved as a monument and playground for the coming generation as well as for the comfort and welfare of the five million persons living very near the dunes, and

Whereas, Any delay in securing this natural park must inevitably endanger such purpose,

Be it therefore resolved, That the members of the Mississippi valley historical association here assembled appeal to congress to take such immediate and favorable action upon this report of Secretary Lane as will enable the country to secure the dunes and set the same aside forever as a national park for the people.

Mr. Shambaugh spoke on behalf of other parks along the upper Mississippi in Illinois and Wisconsin that should be preserved and urged that they be considered in connection with the dunes of Indiana. It was voted that the resolution, together with the suggestions of Mr. Shambaugh, be referred to the executive committee.

An invitation on behalf of the Ohio valley historical association to attend its meeting at Pittsburgh, November 30 and December 1, 1917, was presented by Burd S. Patterson, president of the Ohio valley historical association and secretary of the Historical society of western Pennsylvania, and was referred to the executive committee.

The business session then adjourned.

The executive committee met at the Congress hotel at 3 P. M., April 27, 1917. Those present were I. J. Cox, C. W. Alvord, A. H. Sanford, H. C. Hockett, J. A. James, and Mrs. C. S. Paine. Mr. Cox was elected chairman of the committee for the coming year.

It was voted that the secretary be directed to prepare a budget of expenses for the coming year and submit the same by mail to the members of the finance committee and later to the entire executive committee.

It was voted that the question of the place of meeting in 1918 be submitted to all the members of the executive committee by mail, also the question of the advisability of meeting every other year in Chicago.

It was voted that the resolution presented by Mr. Lindley regarding the dunes of Indiana be adopted and that the appropriate congressional committee be informed of the action.

The executive committee then adjourned.

At the session of the association on the evening of April 27, a report of the committee on resolutions was presented by the chairman, Logan Esarey, as follows:

Be it resolved, That this association by a vote of thanks express its appreciation to the Chicago historical society, not only for its hospitality in tendering the use of its building as a meeting place, and for the splendid entertainment and luncheon at the Congress hotel, and for the pleasant sight-seeing trip by automobile over the city, but more especially for the appreciation of our work shown by the members of the society;

To the directors of the Newberry library for the use of their library as a meeting place and for the courtesies of the library display for the pleasure of the association;

To Robert C. Lieber of Indianapolis and the Selig polyscope company of Chicago for the pleasure of seeing the Indiana history films.

We would also take this opportunity to express our thanks and approval to the officers of this association for their work and care in preparing the excellent program of the meeting.

The report was received and the resolutions adopted by a unanimous vote.

CLARA S. PAINE, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(APRIL, 1916, TO APRIL, 1917)

The work of the association during the year just closed has been subject to varied and sudden changes. The general unsettled condition of the country, together with the rapid increase in the cost of living, has had a material effect upon our organization. It has been exceedingly difficult to secure new members; indeed every effort has been resorted to in order to retain the old members. The raise in dues decided upon at the last annual meeting seemed for the best and it has so resulted. There was a time, however, when the cancellations were so numerous it was doubtful whether the association could stand the strain. The crisis has been safely passed, and you will agree when you hear the financial report that the association has never been on a firmer basis. The raise in dues did not affect libraries or individuals who were both members of the association and subscribers to the *Review*; and when it was understood that under the new arrangement members were to receive all publications issued by the association, including the quarterly *Review*, many who had canceled renewed their memberships. Some have inquired, however, about the annual volume of PROCEEDINGS, fearing it is to be discontinued. Our difficulties may not be entirely over when it is noted that the next volume of PROCEEDINGS is published as a supplement to the *Review*.

The appearance of volume VIII of the PROCEEDINGS was delayed several months owing to the difficulty experienced in getting all the papers together and for other unavoidable reasons, but it was mailed out at a time when it aided materially in collecting membership dues.

Following Mr. Paine's sudden death, the president consulted with the executive committee and the affairs of the association were placed under my care. I had always been closely associated with my husband's work in the past and his aspirations were my aspirations. Since I have endured alone the worry and trials of the year just closed, my respect and regard for my husband have increased if that were possible.

The mid-year meeting of the association convened in Cincinnati, Ohio, at the time of the annual meeting of the American historical association. About one hundred members of the Mississippi valley historical association were in attendance. A dinner was held on Tuesday evening, December 26, at the Sinton hotel, at which informal reports were made

by the president and other officers. There was a general discussion of committee work, but the committees, having been so recently appointed, could only outline their plans for the future. A discussion over the subject of the teaching of state history in the high schools aroused much interest.

The conference of teachers of history in secondary schools on Thursday morning, December 28, was presided over by James A. Sullivan, representing this association, which had been asked to take charge of this conference. Carl E. Pray of the state normal school at Ypsilanti, Michigan, and Glen Levin Swiggett of the United States bureau of education presented papers. Mr. Pray's paper was discussed by Victoria Adams of Chicago and Mr. Swiggett's by Frank P. Goodwin of Cincinnati. "The teaching of history as affected by the present war" was discussed by Albert McKinley of the university of Pennsylvania, Samuel B. Harding of the university of Indiana, and Shirley Farr of the university of Chicago.

A meeting of the executive committee and board of editors was held Thursday evening, December 28, at a dinner at the Sinton hotel. There were present Andrew C. McLaughlin, James A. James, Isaac J. Cox, St. George L. Sioussat, Archer B. Hulbert, Eugene M. Violette, Solon J. Buck, Frederic L. Paxson, and Mrs. C. S. Paine. After a general discussion of matters relating to the association, it was resolved by the executive committee:

"(1) That future payments on account of association or *Review* liabilities shall be made by the secretary-treasurer upon receipt of voucher bearing endorsement of the officer responsible for the expenditure, and that of the chairman of the executive committee, or his deputy, who shall place upon the voucher its proper serial number.

"(2) That a standing finance committee be created, including as chairman the chairman of the executive committee, and in addition to him the president, the managing editor, and the secretary-treasurer, which committee shall (a) manage the finances of the association, (b) present estimates for an annual budget to the annual meeting, and (c) transfer items within the estimates according to the best needs of the association.

"(3) That the chairman of the executive committee shall direct the finances until the next annual meeting, at which time the budget system shall begin to operate.

"(4) That Mrs. Clarence S. Paine shall be acting secretary-treasurer and business manager of the *Review* for the present in the place of A. O. Thomas, to whom the thanks of the executive committee are hereby conveyed.

"(5) That the business manager be requested to proceed with the soliciting of the guaranty fund for the *Review* for another three-year period."

On Friday afternoon, December 29, was held the formal joint session of the Mississippi valley historical association with the American historical association, Isaac J. Cox, chairman of the executive committee, presiding in the absence of the president. The program consisted of papers on "Spanish influence in the west during the American revolution," by James A. James of Northwestern university; "The Pennsylvania bribery bill of 1836," by Reginald C. McGrane of the university of Cincinnati; "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865," by James R. Robertson of Berea college; and "The influence of the religious press of Cincinnati on the northern border states," by Ernest A. Smith of Salt Lake City.

The third year of the publication of the *Mississippi valley historical review* has just closed and the high character of this quarterly is unexcelled by any publication of this kind. The guarantors have stood faithfully by the project and some action should be taken at this meeting to express to them our appreciation of their support. It is a matter of regret that we cannot declare the association able to bear all the expense incident to publishing the *Review*. After the action of the executive committee authorizing a renewal of the guaranty fund Mr. Alvord and the secretary made every effort to secure it, and up to this time over one thousand dollars has been pledged. The *Review* is assured for another year and since a number of the guarantors have renewed for three years I have no hesitancy in saying that practically all the money is in sight to guaranty the expenses of the association for the next three years, counting, of course, upon the annual membership dues together with the guaranty fund, advertising, and the income from the sale of publications.

Should conditions in the life of our country return to normal many new members could be secured in the next three years. As chairman of the membership committee I have spent much thought on the subject of the best way to enlarge the association. The committee was just ready to make a widespread canvass for new members when the present war conditions enveloped the nation and it seemed best to postpone our efforts until a more opportune time. Since conditions do not affect libraries so much as individuals, a systematic canvass will be made of the large libraries not already members of the association.

The existing uncertainty in the business world has also made it exceedingly difficult to get advertising, a task that has never been an easy one during the life of the *Review*. I have used energy, nerve, and

postage before the issue of each number with but indifferent results, although on comparison with the advertising of previous years it is up to the average.

The following deaths have been reported the past year: Mrs. Jackson Beyer, of Des Moines, Iowa; Captain J. H. Burnham, of Bloomington, Illinois; Horace E. Deemer, of Red Oak, Iowa; Charles R. Green, of Olathe, Kansas; J. G. Metcalf, of Morristown, New Jersey; Clarence S. Paine, of Lincoln, Nebraska; Elbert Marshall Pike, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. W. H. Stennett, of Oak Park, Illinois, and William Craig Wilcox, of Iowa City, Iowa.

The place of meeting for 1917 was determined late last year when on the order of the president a vote of the members of the executive committee was taken by mail and Chicago selected. The following local committee on arrangements was appointed: Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman, Augustus H. Shearer, vice-chairman, Caroline M. McIlvaine, Victoria Adams, Edward E. Ayer, Charles G. Dawes, Charles L. Hutchinson, Seymour Morris, Edward L. Ryerson, Cornelia B. Williams, Clarence A. Burley, Charles F. Gunther, Cyrus H. McCormick, Joy Morton, John A. Spoor, and Charles H. Wacker. The program committee, appointed soon after the Nashville meeting, consists of Royal B. Way, chairman, Beverley W. Bond, Jr., Isaac J. Cox, William E. Dodd, and A. O. Thomas. The excellent program before you at this meeting is the result of the efforts of Mr. Way and his committee.

At the present time the Mississippi valley historical association has 667 members in good standing to June 1, 1917. There are on the mailing list in addition to this number 146 whose membership dues were paid last year and who are entitled to receive the 1915-16 PROCEEDINGS. They have this year also received the *Review*. They have not responded to statements sent them but there is reason to believe that many of them will remit their dues before the end of the fiscal year. A total of 138 have canceled memberships since June 1, 1916. Not all these cancellations were caused by the raise in dues; some were from those who had been delinquent a long time and were asked to express themselves. The association has no indebtedness of any kind and a balance in the bank of \$237.95.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

April 30, 1916 - April 30, 1917

Receipts

Individual membership fees . . .	\$ 963.00
Library membership fees . . .	877.50
Sustaining membership fees . . .	380.00
Guaranty for <i>Review</i> . . .	1925.00
Advertising	73.05
Book sales	112.79
Exchange	2.05
Miscellaneous receipts	27.65
<hr/>	
Total receipts	\$4361.04
Balance on hand, April 30, 1916 . . .	223.02

Disbursements

Publications	\$2812.91
Clerical salaries	540.00
Editorial expenses	282.50
Postage and express	124.57
Miscellaneous printing	84.75
Office supplies	10.21
Traveling expenses	166.87
Freight and drayage	5.30
Borrowed money repaid	300.00
Interest on same	5.25
Miscellaneous	13.75
<hr/>	
Total disbursements	\$4346.11
Balance on hand	237.95

\$4584.06 \$4584.06

The foregoing is a correct statement of the transactions of the Mississippi valley historical association for the year ending April 30, 1917, as shown by the books of Clara S. Paine, secretary-treasurer.

H. S. WIGGINS, C. P. A.

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA, April 25, 1917

Respectfully submitted,

CLARA S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*

THE VALUE OF THE MEMOIR OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AS AN HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

The original of the document known as Clark's memoir is in the possession of the Wisconsin historical society.¹ It consists of 128 pages of manuscript and purports to give a detailed account of events with which Clark was connected in Virginia, Kentucky, and the northwest from the close of the year 1773 to September, 1779. Attention was first called to the memoir by Mann Butler in his *History of Kentucky* published in 1834.² John B. Dillon, who owned a copy, made extensive use of it in his *Historical notes of the discovery and settlement of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio*. This volume, which was published in 1843, contains extracts from the document. The memoir was published almost entire by Mr. Dillon in his *History of Indiana*. The entire document was printed for the first time, in 1896, by W. H. English in his *Conquest of the northwest*.³

Early writers on the period, following Mann Butler, have accepted this narrative of events by Clark as trustworthy. Dillon accepted the facts as stated in the memoir, and novelists such as Winston Churchill in *The crossing* and Maurice Thompson in *Alice of old Vincennes* adopted the statements without criticism; in fact the substance of these novels is made up largely from this source.⁴ The value of the memoir as an historical source was

¹ Two manuscript copies of the memoir are in existence. One, which formerly belonged to John B. Dillon, is in the possession of the estate of W. H. English, Indianapolis. The other was owned by Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, but is now the property of the university of Chicago.

² It is said that Mann Butler owned the original. William Hayden English, *Conquest of the country northwest of the river Ohio, 1778-1783; and life of Gen. George Rogers Clark* (Indianapolis, 1896), 1: 456.

³ *Ibid.*, 1: 457-555.

⁴ Dillon wrote: "Extracted from the MS. 'Memoirs of General George Rogers Clark, composed by himself at the united desire of Presidents Jefferson and Madison.'" John B. Dillon, *A history of Indiana, from its earliest exploration by Europeans to the close of the territorial government, in 1816* (Indianapolis, 1859), 115.

first questioned by Theodore Roosevelt in *The winning of the west*. Evidently accepting the view of Dillon as to the time when it was written, Mr. Roosevelt says: "It was written at the desire of Presidents Jefferson and Madison; and therefore some thirty or forty years after the events of which it speaks. Valuable though it is, as the narrative of the chief actor, it would be still more valuable had it been written earlier; it undoubtedly contains some rather serious errors." Again Mr. Roosevelt describes the memoir as "written by an old man who had squandered his energies and sunk into deserved obscurity." Elsewhere, he writes: "Unfortunately, most of the small western historians who have written about Clark have really damaged his reputation by the absurd inflation of their language; They were adepts in the forcible-feeble style of writing, a sample of which is their rendering him ludicrous by calling him 'the Hannibal of the West,' and the 'Washington of the West.' Moreover, they base his claims to greatness not on his really great deeds, but on the half-imaginary feats of childish cunning he related in his old age."⁵

While it would be futile to attempt to prove that the memoir is wholly trustworthy, it is regarded as worth the effort to try to determine, first, when it was written; and, second, what portions may be approved.

In the correspondence carried on between Clark and John Brown, delegate in congress from Kentucky, it is shown that at least one hundred pages, the greater part of the memoir, were written in the years 1789 and 1790. The essential portions of these letters follow:

NEW YORK, July 5th, 1789.⁶

DEAR GEN^L,

. . . I must beg that you will pardon the liberty which I am going to take. I have a request to make of you and as it is one of consequence, I must premise that I am not only seconded in making it but urged to it by some of the most important Characters in the Union — it is — that

⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, *The winning of the west* (New York, 1889), 2: 36, 55, 82, notes.

⁶ The original is in the Draper manuscript collection, 53 J 80. The significance of this correspondence between Clark and Brown was first noticed by Miss Minnie G. Cook, who printed part of it in the *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, 15: 205.

you will favor the World with a Narrative of your Campaigns in the Western Country. The United States now find themselves in possession of a territory N.W. of the Ohio of vast extent & of immense value to which all turn their Eyes as being the only certain fund for the discharge of the National Debt and although it is confest by all that we owe it to your enterprise & successful exertions, yet the incredible Difficulties & Dangers you incountered, and the gallant exploits which led to & secured the acqisition are but partially & imperfectly known. All wish to know it & you alone are in possession of this Information & should you decline to communicate it the latest Posterity will regret the loss of what would constitute the most interesting Pages in the Annals of the Western World & would be an ornament to the History of the American Revolution. Mr. Madison whose literary and Political Character now attracts the attention of all America is so much engaged in the success of this application that he has desired me to inform you that to lessen the task, if you will furnish the material & it is agreeable to you he will carefully attend to the arrangement & style so as to usher it into the world in a Dress suitable to the importance of the Subject.

You cannot be too minute in the details of the Causes and effects, of Views and Measures, of occurances and transactions during those successful campaigns. Circumstances & facts which may appear unimportant to you will not be thought so by others. Copies of the Letters which passed between you & the Executive of Virginia of Treaties with & of speeches to & from the Indians may be inserted with great propriety, an 'tis important to preserve them & they must necessarily throw great light upon the Subject. . . .

Sir Yr. Mo Hble Servt.

J. BROWN.

GENL G. R. CLARK

LOUISVILLE, Jan. 20th, 1789 [1790] ⁷

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 5th July came safe to hand. . . . The requisition you make, Sir, by your letter, is such, that a compliance will be in some degree, destroying a resolution that I have long concluded on, that of burying the rise and progress of the War in this quarter in oblivion; which is in my power as all light cast on it by another person, must be faint indeed. Great part of the most material papers are either lost, or made use of as waste paper, and finding my nature such that it was impossible for me to be void of some affection for the people I

⁷ This letter and the two others from Clark which follow were printed in the *Commonwealth* (Frankfort, Kentucky), July 25, 1838. Draper manuscripts, 27 CC 29.

had suffered so much for, in the establishment of their interests, that I have frequently destroyed papers that were of such a nature that the reading of them would in some measure cool that spark that still remained, and tend to aggravate the crime of the people — that by having nothing about me that might frequently fall in my way and renew my ideas, and by attempting, if possible, to forget the various transactions that have happened, I might again reconcile myself to live in a country that I was always fond of, and with people whose prosperity I have, until lately, studied with delight. For the want of these helps alluded to, it would require time and recollection to collect materials necessary to compose a true narrative of this department. Some papers I can collect, and will immediately set about this business, and as soon as finished, enclose them to you, probably in four or five months. I shall take no other pains than that of stating facts, and occurrences, &c. If this is to make its appearance in the world, there is no person I could be more happy in their handling the subject than Mr. Madison. You will be pleased to favor me in presenting my most sincere thanks to that gentleman for his expression in my favor.

Yours, with much esteem,

GEO. R. CLARK.

THE HON. JOHN BROWN.

JEFFERSON, July 15th, 1790.

DEAR SIR: —

. . . As to the Narrative; I have been at a great deal of trouble in attempting to recover several copies, that I was in hopes were in the hands of Captains Harrison and Brashears, at the Natchez, and others, but found myself disappointed, and have set about the business without those helps, have tasked myself to spend two days in the week, and have got through about one hundred pages. I wish, before I close this business, to receive every querie of importance on the subject that yourself and Mr. Madison could imagine. The more I enter into this business, the better I am pleased at the undertaking, and frequently, I suppose, experience the same feeling that actuated me at the time of those transactions. I believe, that through myself, every thing past, relative to this country may be known. If this should fortunately meet with a quick passage, I may probably get an answer from you in two months. Judging from the progress I make, to be nearly closing this business by that period.

Please present my respects to Mr. Madison.

Am, Sir, y'r hble ser'vt

GEO. R. CLARK.

JEFFERSON, July 29, 1790.

DEAR SIR:

In my last, of this inst., I informed you of the progress I have made in the narrative you wish for. I have advanced but slowly for the want of papers that have been destroyed by one means or other. Of course I require more study and recollection to go on with this business. The papers relative to the years '78 and '79 are those that I have been at the greatest loss for. Some, I have recovered. In the Winter of 1779, on the request of Col. G. Mason, of Fairfax, I wrote him a pamphlet that contained great part of our proceedings up to that time. I have wrote to him for it, in hopes that he might find it among his old papers, but have got no answer from him. As he is convenient to you, by post, I should thank you to try and recover it for me and send it by the first opportunity. If I get this, I shall be tolerably complete, and correct in what I have done.

I am, Sir, y'r h'ble servant.

GEO. R. CLARK.

THE HON. JOHN BROWN.

NEW YORK 27th April 1790.⁸

DEAR GENERAL

. . . Your favor of the 20th August signifying your willingness to favor the World with a Narrative of your Campaigns in the Western Country gave me as well as many of your friends in this quarter great pleasure. I hope you have not relinquished a work which would make so important an addition to the History of the Revolution. Mr. Madison will chearfully undertake to revise & arrange the collection of facts should you please to put it into his Hands but begs you to desend in the recital even to minutia. . . .

I am with sentiments of esteem Your friend & Hble Ser^t

J. BROWN

GENL CLARK

PHILAD^a 8th Dec^r 1790.⁹

DEAR GENERAL

I had not the pleasure to receive your letters of the 15th and 29 of July untill yesterday. They had been detained with all my other letters written from Kentucke since that date by my Brother near Staunton in expectation of my paying him a visit during the late recess of Congress. But a tour which I made through Vermont & the Eastern States prevented me of that pleasure & also of writing to you more

⁸ The original is in the Draper manuscripts, 53 J 88.⁹ The original is in the Draper manuscripts, 53 J 89.

frequently. It affords real satisfaction to me as also to Mr. Madison (to whom I have communicated the contents of your letters) to find you have made so great progress in compiling your Narrative of the Western Campaigns. I hope you will persevere to the completion of this interesting work which I am fully persuaded will make an important addition to the History of the American Revolution. Neither Mr. Madison nor myself can undertake to propose queries to you not being sufficiently acquainted with the subject, but we fully unite in the request that in collecting materials you will not use a sparing hand. Many things may appear very interesting to others which you might think unimportant & any redundancy which may be thus created can easily be retrenched upon a revisal. By next Post I shall write to Col^o Mason for the Pamphlet you mention & should it come to hand I shall be careful to forward it to you by the first opportunity. . . .

I am with great respect Yours &c

J. BROWN.

GENERAL GEO. R. CLARK

From the correspondence between Jefferson and Judge Innes of Kentucky it appears probable that the memoir was completed during the year 1791. "Will it not be possible," wrote Jefferson, March 7, 1791, "for you to bring General Clark forward? I know the greatness of his mind & am the more mortified at the cause which obscures it. Had not this unhappily taken place, there was nothing he might not have hoped: could it be surmounted, his lost ground might yet be recovered. No man alive rated him higher than I did, & would again, were he to become again what I knew him. We are made to hope he is engaged in writing the account of his expeditions north of Ohio. They will be valuable morsels of history, and will justify to the world those who have told them how great he was." Judge Innes replied on May 30, 1791, as follows: "Since the reception of your letter I have seen Genl Clark and find he is writing the History of his Expeditions and will complete the work in the course of this summer."¹⁰

The period between 1786 and 1789 was for Clark one of disappointment and bitterness. He had failed in his expedition against the Indians on the Wabash. The confiscation of the property of some Spanish traders at Vincennes during the same

¹⁰ Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford edition—New York, 1895), 5: 295; *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, 15: 205-213.

year, 1786, subjected him to open criticism by the governor and council of Virginia. His accounts against the state had not been settled and creditors were striving to collect claims for which he had become personally responsible during the course of the revolution.

That Clark during these years at times drank to excess cannot be doubted, but there is ample evidence to show that he was still in possession of his former physical and mental strength. He gives a glimpse of his own life in a letter to his brother, September 2, 1791, in which he says: "for several years I have lived quite retired reading hunting fishing and fowling hath been my genl amusement and corresponding with a few close friends in different parts of the continent and attention to my private business without concerning myself with that of the Publick, in any point of View."¹¹

At that time he was greatly interested, as he said, "in an invention that will give a new turn to the face of things throughout the Western country." His application for governmental protection, in which he included a rough description of the mechanical process for navigating a boat, was sent to John Brown. "Not being able," he wrote, "to discover any defect, and further to satisfy myself, I had the machine actually made on a small scale and proved every conjecture beyond a doubt." For what reason Clark did not complete his application for a patent right as provided in the act of congress forwarded to him cannot be determined.¹²

It is not surprising that the Indian problem of the period appealed to him and his vigorous nature stood out in the policy which he advocated. There was in his plan the same elements of thoroughness that always characterized his actions in the Indian councils. To him, the policy of the general government, which consisted in inviting the Indians to make treaties, in giving them presents, and in courting their friendship, was in large measure a failure. "Excell them," he said, "if possible, in their own policy, treat them with indifference, make war on them, prosecute it with all the vigor and devastation possible, mention nothing of peace to them, and you would soon have

¹¹ Draper manuscripts, 2 L 29.

¹² This was sent by Brown, April 27, 1790. *Ibid.*, 27 CC 29, 53 J 88.

them suing for mercy. Turn the scale upon them and oblige them to give up a part of their country to pay for the expense of the war, &c. All other policy in the Indian department, except something similar to this, is the result of the want of judgment or information."¹³

The letter relating to the death of Logan's family was written nine years after the time when he was engaged on the memoir.¹⁴ This letter has been accepted as among the most trustworthy evidence on that episode. Referring to Clark at that time, Samuel Brown, through whom the letter was secured, wrote Jefferson: "To those who have the happiness of being acquainted with that truly great man, his statement will bring the fullest conviction. His memory is singularly accurate, his veracity unquestionable. To such a respectable authority I can suppose no one capable of objecting, except Mr. Luther Martin."

John Pope describes an interview with Clark during 1791 as follows: "Arrived at his house under an apprehension that he had forgotten me. He immediately recognized me and without ceremony, entered into a highly familiar though desultory conversation, in which I was highly pleased with the Atticism of his wit, the genuine offspring of native genius. On serious and important occasions, he displays a profundity of judgment aided by reflection and matured by experience."¹⁵

In the further attempt to reach some conclusion on the trustworthiness of the memoir comparison has been made, wherever possible, with other documents of the period. Among these sources, which have passed unchallenged, are Clark's diary, Clark's letter to George Mason, known as the Mason letter, Clark's journal, and Bowman's journal. Proof is abundant that Clark, when he undertook to write the memoir, strove to collect all his correspondence which bore on the various phases discussed. That, so far as possible, he made use of this correspondence is evident from his annotations, such as: "See my letter to him [governor of Virginia]," "Refer to Maj^r Bowman's Journal," and "This copy is lost."

¹³ August 20, 1789. Draper manuscripts, 27 CC 29.

¹⁴ For the account of this letter, see James A. James, *George Rogers Clark papers, 1771-1781* (Illinois historical collections, vol. 8—Springfield, 1912), 3-5.

¹⁵ John Pope, *A tour through the southern and western territories of the United States of North-America* (Richmond, 1792), 19.

The diary and Bowman's journal were in his possession. Clark tried unsuccessfully to locate the Mason letter,¹⁶ and his journal¹⁷ was in the possession of the British. The narrative of events in the memoir, between December 25, 1776, when ten men went to the Ohio river to bring on the gunpowder which Clark had secured from the Virginia legislature for the defense of Kentucky, to March 30, 1778, when he was prepared to descend the Ohio on the Illinois expedition, shows a close adherence to the statements given in the diary. On December 29, 1776, McClelland's Fort was attacked by the Indians, Harrodsburg on March 7, 1777, and numerous other attacks on the white settlements followed. Benjamin Linn and Samuel Moore, who had been sent as special agents by Clark, returned on June 22 with an account of conditions in the French villages of the Illi-

¹⁶ The original manuscript of this letter is now in the possession of Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, of Louisville, Kentucky. The location of the letter was unknown for a number of years. Clark's correspondence at the time he was writing the memoir was published in the *Frankfort Commonwealth* towards the close of the year 1826 and called attention to it. Lyman C. Draper, with this clue, took up the search for the missing document and wrote to Colonel George Mason, who was living at Hollin Hall, Virginia, the family home. Colonel Mason replied, February 8, 1827: "The narrative, to which you refer, written by Col. George Rogers Clark & sent to my Grand-Father is in my possession. It is not only a highly interesting, but very valuable document; and I have long since destined it for the safe keeping of some Public Institution. I cannot therefore, consign it to the hands of any Individual, much less those of an entire Stranger, as you are to me Sir—for individual purposes. It will soon be presented to the Historical Society of Kentucky; and it will then be at their discretion to give you, or any other Gentleman, access to it." In a postscript, dated February 10, he stated that the manuscript had that day been sent to that institution. When the Kentucky historical society dissolved the Mason letter came into possession of the Honorable Henry Pirtle, then president of the society. It was published in 1869, with an introduction by Mr. Pirtle, as *Col. George Rogers Clark's sketch of his campaign in the Illinois in 1778-9* (*Ohio valley historical series*, no. 3—Cincinnati, 1869); by English in his *Conquest of the northwest*, 1: 411-453; and in James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 114-154.

¹⁷ The journal gives the earliest known account of events connected with the capture of Vincennes after February 23, 1779. William Myers, the bearer of this official message to Governor Henry, was killed by the Indians near the falls of the Ohio. According to custom the Indian agents, instead of sending the originals of important captured letters to their superior officers, forwarded copies of such portions as they chose to select. A copy of the journal taken from the Canadian archives was published in the *American historical review*, 1: 91-94. Three weeks after the death of Myers, Clark prepared another account of the capture of Vincennes, one copy of which was sent to Governor Henry and the other to Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson, *Writings* (Washington edition—New York, 1853), 1: 222.

nois country. The arrival of Colonel John Bowman at Harrodsburg on September 2 with a company of men from Virginia gave renewed courage to the defenders of Kentucky. On October 1 Clark set out for Virginia in order to make an appeal to the governor for aid in the defense of these settlements. Governor Patrick Henry favored granting this request and on January 2 Clark received orders for carrying it into effect. Twelve hundred pounds of public money were granted for the use of the expedition, and on January 4 Clark set out for Fort Pitt where he received supplies from General Hand, the commandant at that post.

In testing the narrative of the memoir between March 30, 1778, the date when the diary ends, and January 29, 1779, when Bowman's journal begins, comparison is made with the Mason letter. As already stated, Clark did not possess this document.

On March 29 Clark received a message from Major William Bailey Smith containing the information that he had recruited four companies of men on the Holston river and was sending them to Kentucky. Two companies under Captain Joseph Bowman and Captain Leonard Helm were to join Clark at Redstone. On May 12, with one hundred and fifty frontiersmen, together with a number of private adventurers and some twenty settlers with their families, Clark set out from Redstone.¹⁸ After taking on stores at Pittsburgh, liberally granted by General Hand, and at Wheeling, they proceeded cautiously down the Ohio, not knowing when they might be surprised by Indian war parties. Reaching the mouth of the Kanawha, they learned that this post had been attacked by the Indians the day before.¹⁹ Descending the river, they were joined by Captain James O'Hara with his company who were on their way to the Arkansas on "publick business."²⁰ The mouth of the Kentucky,

¹⁸ James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 27 (diary), 117 (Mason letter), 220 (memoir). The memoir says "late in may"; also that he was accompanied by three companies of men. Each of these companies contained fifty men. Major Smith's companies were to contain two hundred men.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 117 (Mason letter), 220 (memoir). The memoir says 250 Indians, and the Mason letter, "a large Body of Indians." Joseph Bowman to George Brinker, July 30, 1778: "by a superior body of Indians—appearing to be about two hundred in number." *Ibid.*, 614.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 117 (Mason letter), 221 (memoir). The Mason letter says, "on his way to the Ozark." General Hand to General Horatio Gates, April 24, 1778: "I am

where they landed, was at first selected by Clark as a suitable spot to fortify as a protection for immigrants coming down the river. But the falls of the Ohio, while fulfilling this requirement, would in addition furnish the site for a fort necessary to protect the Kentucky settlements and the Illinois country.²¹ On May 27, they reached the falls where Clark learned that instead of the four companies expected from the Holston only part of a company under Captain Dillard had arrived in Kentucky.²² At first, Clark took possession of an island in the rapids in order the more easily to prevent desertions. Then for the first time he disclosed to his followers the real object of the expedition. Because of dissatisfaction among the Holston men the boats were guarded to prevent their escape. A few men escaped but some of them were captured by horsemen the next day.²³ On June 26, they set off from the falls and on the fourth day reached the mouth of the Tennessee where final preparations were made for the march to Kaskaskia.²⁴ The boats were concealed near Fort Massac and the expedition proceeded in a northwesterly course. The events which followed were: the guide became bewildered and lost the route but soon located it again,²⁵ the arrival within three miles of Kaskaskia on July 4,²⁶ boats were secured by which they crossed the river and then captured the town.²⁷ Clark delayed making his proclamation to the people for a few days, and meantime Captain Joseph Bowman, on July 8, captured Cahokia.²⁸ The other Illinois villages fol-

preparing to send Capt. O'Hara with a detachment to the Arkansas with the provisions for Capt. Willing." Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier defense on the upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Draper series, vol. 3 — Madison, 1912), 278.

²¹ James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 117 (Mason letter), 221 (memoir). The Mason letter says, "after spending a day or two, We set out," while the memoir gives the reasons for choosing the falls of the Ohio as a suitable place to fortify.

²² The Mason letter gives the name "Delland" and also "Dillard." *Ibid.*, 118.

²³ *Ibid.*, 118 (Mason letter), 222, 223 (memoir).

²⁴ The memoir does not give the day in June, but the Mason letter says that it was June 26. *Ibid.*, 118, 223.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 119 (Mason letter), 226 (memoir).

²⁶ Mason letter: "we got within three miles of the Town Kaskaskias." Memoir: "within a few miles of the Town." *Ibid.*, 119, 227.

²⁷ The Mason letter says Clark divided his men into two divisions, the memoir, three. *Ibid.*, 120, 227.

²⁸ The memoir gives "Majr Bowman," and the Mason letter, "Capt Bowman." *Ibid.*, 122, 232, 233.

lowed the example of Kaskaskia and Cahokia by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. Friendly correspondence was begun with the Spanish officer at St. Louis and Father Gibault brought about the transfer of authority at Vincennes. Clark deceived the French by his statement that the troops he had brought with him were only a detachment of the larger army stationed at the falls of the Ohio. For five weeks, Clark was engaged in treating with the Indian tribes assembled at Cahokia.²⁹

Word was received by Clark that an expedition was to move from Pittsburgh against Detroit.³⁰ Captain Helm was authorized to proceed to Ouiatanon with a party of men in order to counteract the influence of a British agent at that post. The expedition was successful in that from twenty to thirty Chipewewa warriors were captured, but the British emissary escaped.³¹ With the setting-in of winter preparations were begun at Detroit for an expedition which was at first thought by Clark to be intended against the army from Pittsburgh, but which he later learned was to come against the Illinois towns.³²

For the events between January 29, 1779, when Colonel Francis Vigo gave information on the capture of Vincennes, to March 20 of the same year, when Clark returned to Kaskaskia after his victory over Hamilton, the sources in addition to the memoir and the Mason letter are Bowman's journal, Clark's journal, and Hamilton's report.³³ In a marginal note by Clark

²⁹ James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 122, 125-129 (Mason letter), 234-238, 243-261 (memoir).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 131 (Mason letter), 259 (memoir).

³¹ Mason letter: "but a few days before the Captains arrival Mr Celeron thought proper to make his Escape . . . About forty in number being made Prisoners." Memoir: "the Emisary (I forget his name)." *Ibid.*, 130, 259.

³² Mason letter: "A Young Man at the Town of Cohos holding a Correspondance and sending Intilligence to Governour Hambletons Party was Detected & punished accordingly." Memoir: "one Denny an Inhabitant of Kohokia was taken up by Majr Bowman for writing through the Indians to his friend near DeTroit given dangerous Information his Letters was intercepted and him self tied to the tail of a Cart and by drum Received a lash at every Door in Town and Burnt in the Hand for other Misdemeneours." *Ibid.*, 132, 261.

³³ Major Joseph Bowman was one of Clark's most trusted associates. His journal gives a brief statement of the important events between January 29 and March 20, 1779. *Ibid.*, 155-164. The original of this document has not been located. There is a copy in the Draper manuscripts of the Wisconsin historical society, 47 J 131. Another copy is in the Congressional library, in Letters to Washington, 1779,

in the memoir he says: "Refer to Maj^r Bowman's Journal for the particulars of this march." While there can be no doubt that this journal was carefully followed by Clark, there are a number of incidents not mentioned therein which are included in the memoir and the Mason letter.

The afternoon of February 23, when they reached the Warrior's island, within two miles of Vincennes, is referred to as a "delightful day."³⁴ Here they captured a hunter from Vincennes. Clark used this prisoner "who was not permitted to see our numbers" to carry a letter to the inhabitants of the village.³⁵ Several of his men also "sent ther Compliments to ther Friends under borrowed Names well known at S^t Vincents and the person supposed to have been at Kentucky."³⁶

About sundown, Clark ordered the march to begin with colors flying and drums braced. By marching to and fro, a slight elevation of land obstructing the view so that only the flags could be seen from the town, the impression was made that a force of one thousand men was approaching.³⁷

fol. 91. The journal has been published in the *Louisville Literary News*, November 24, 1840, in *Clark's campaign in the Illinois*, and in English, *Conquest of the north-west*, 1: 568. The report prepared by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton covers events from November, 1776, to June, 1781. The original is in the British museum. See James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 174-207.

³⁴ Mason letter: "Laying in this Grove some time to dry our Clothes by the Sun." *Ibid.*, 141.

³⁵ Mason letter: "but would not suffer him to see our Troops except a few." Memoir: "the soldiers all had instructions that ther common conversation when speaking of our Numbers should be such that a stranger overhearing must suppose that ther was near 1000 of us." *Ibid.*, 141, 278.

³⁶ Mason letter: "Sending the Compliments of several Officers that was known to be Expected to reinforce me, to several Gentlemen of the Town." *Ibid.*, 141.

³⁷ Mason letter: "I march'd time enough to be seen from the Town before dark but taking advantage of the Land, disposed the lines in such a manner that nothing but the Pavilions could be seen, having as many of them as would be sufficient for a thousand Men, which was observed by the Inhabitants, who had Just Receiv'd my letter counted the different Colours and Judged our number accordingly But I was careful to give them no oppertunity of seeing our Troops before dark, which it would be before we could Arrive." Memoir: "Raising Volunteers in the Illinois every person that set about the business must have a set of Colurs given him which they brought with them to the amt of 10 or 12 pair these were displayed to the best advantage and as the Low plain we mach through was not a perfect level but have frequent Risings in it of Seven or Eight Feet higher than the common Level which was covered with Water and they Gen^{ly} Run in an oblique direction to the Town we took the advantage of on[e] of them march through the Water under it which compleatly prevented our Men being Numbered but our

So completely were the British surprised that Lieutenant Governor Hamilton was not aware of the approach of the enemy and believed the rifle shots to have been fired by drunken Indians until one of his men was wounded by a shot fired through a port hole. A Piankeshaw, son of the chief of that tribe, tendered Clark the services of one hundred warriors but the offer was declined.³⁸ The firing was almost continuous throughout the night.³⁹ Captain Lamothe had been sent out by Hamilton on a scouting expedition. On returning some of his men were

Colours shewed considerably above the height as they were fixed to long poles procured for the purpose and at a distance made no despicable appearance and as our young frenchmen had while we lay on the Warriours Island decoyed and taken several Fowlers with their Horses officers ware mounted on those and Rode about more compleatly to deceiv the Enemy in this manner we moved and directed our march in such a manner as to suffer it to be dark before had avaned more than half way to the Town." James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 141, 279.

Thwaites, in his *How George Rogers Clark won the northwest* (Chicago, 1903), 56, quotes: "but taking advantage of the Land, disposed the lines in such a manner that nothing but the Pavilions [doubtless shelter huts of boughs] could be seen, having as many of them as would be sufficient for a thousand Men." One definition of "pavilion" is, "a movable or open structure for temporary shelter." This probably gave Thwaites his interpretation, "shelter huts of boughs." In the second edition of his book (Chicago, 1904), however, Thwaites has changed his explanation to, "referring to the enemy's banners."

On this point Roosevelt prefers to follow Clark's journal in place of the Mason letter which had been previously accepted by him. Referring to Clark's journal, he writes: "This is not only the official report, but also the earliest letter Clark wrote on the subject and therefore the most authoritative. The paragraph relating to the final march against Vincennes is as follows: 'At sundown I put the divisions in motion to march in the greatest order & regularity & observe the orders of their officers. Above all to be silent—the 5 men we took in the canoes were our guides.'" Roosevelt continues, "This effectually disposes of the account, which was accepted by Clark himself in his old age, that he ostentatiously paraded his men and marched them to and fro with many flags flying, so as to impress the British with his numbers. Instead of indulging in any such childishness (which would merely have warned the British, and put them on their guard), he in reality made as silent an approach as possible, under cover of the darkness." Roosevelt, *The winning of the west*, 2: 78, n. 2. This does not dispose, however, of the deception, the details of which are given in both the Mason letter and the memoir.

For the tradition of a somewhat similar march see Claude H. Van Tyne, *The American revolution (The American nation; a history*, vol. 9—New York, 1905), 283; Edmund Flagg, "The far west; or, a tour beyond the mountains," in Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early western travels*, 27: 88.

³⁸ James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 142 (Mason letter), 280, 281 (memoir).

³⁹ Mason letter: "Never was a heavier fireing kept up on both sides for eighteen Hours with so little damage done." Memoir: "and the firing continued without Intermission (except about 15 minutes a little before Day)." *Ibid.*, 142, 281.

made prisoners, and Clark, finding that he could not capture the whole party, withdrew his troops shortly before daybreak to allow their entrance into the fort.⁴⁰ About nine o'clock Clark sent a messenger to Hamilton demanding the surrender of the fort, for he was especially solicitous about letters from Virginia which the British had taken with two prisoners the day before.⁴¹ There followed the conference at the little French church and an agreement on the terms of surrender.⁴² Clark's men clamored for the capture of Detroit but he wished to add to his

⁴⁰ Mason letter: "Capt Lemote was sent out to intercept them; being out on our Arival could not get in the Fort." Hamilton's report: "we despaired of Captain La Mothe's party regaining the fort, but to our great surprize and joy about half-an-hour before sunrise they appear'd and got into the Fort over the Stockades which were upright, and 11 feet out of the ground." Memoir: "after some deliberation on the subject we concluded to Risque the Reinforcement in preference to his going again among the Indians . . . a little before Day the Troops was withdrawn from the Fort except a few parties." *Ibid.*, 142, 186, 283, 284.

Roosevelt says, "Clark in his 'Memoir' asserts that he designedly let them through, and could have shot them down as they tried to clamber over the stockade if he had wished. Bowman corroborates Hamilton, saying: 'We sent a party to intercept them, but missed them. However, we took one of their men, . . . the rest making their escape under the cover of the night into the fort.' Bowman's journal is for this siege much more trustworthy than Clark's 'Memoir.' In the latter, Clark makes not a few direct misstatements, and many details are colored so as to give them an altered aspect." Roosevelt, *The winning of the west*, 2: 81, n. 2.

⁴¹ Mason letter: "knowing of the Prisoners lately taken and by the discription I had of them I was sure of their being the Express from Williamsburg (but was mistaken) to save the papers and Letters." Bowman's journal: "about 9 O Clock the Col. sent a flag to Govr Hamilton." Clark's journal: "about 8 o'clock I sent a flag of truce with a letter." Memoir: "about nine O'clock in the morning of the 24th Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the Day before had a considerable number of Letters with them I supposed it an Express that we expected about this time which I new to be of the greatest moment to us as we had not received one Since our arrival in the countrey and not being fully acquainted with the character of our Enemy we ware doubtfull that those papers might be destroyed to prevent which I sent a flag Demanding the Garison and desiring Govr Hamilton not to destroy them with some threats in case he did if his Garison should fall into my Hands his answer was that they ware not disposed to be awed into any thing unbecoming British Subjects." James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 143, 160, 165, 285.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 143, 144, 145 (Mason letter), 162 (Bowman's journal), 167 (Clark's journal), 286, 287, 288, 289 (memoir). Clark's journal: "I told Capt Helm Sir you are a prisoner on your parole, I desire you to reconduct G. H. into the Fort and there remain till I retake you." Memoir: "Captⁿ Helms attempted to moderate our fixed determination I told him that he was a British prisoner and it was doubtful whether or not he could with propriety Speak on the subject."

force before undertaking that project.⁴³ Looking towards gaining the friendship of the French at that post, he paroled the volunteers who had accompanied the British.⁴⁴ After dealing with the Indians in the vicinity of Vincennes, Clark returned to Kaskaskia where he overcame an uprising of the Delawares.⁴⁵ Clark's disappointment was extreme when, in August, the expedition against Detroit was again postponed because of the failure to respond to his call for troops.⁴⁶

A number of statements made in the Mason letter, dealing chiefly with special days, are corrected in the memoir. Clark set out for Williamsburg October 1, 1777, not in August.⁴⁷ Father Gibault and Dr. Laffont started for Vincennes July 14, 1778.⁴⁸ Clark's expedition left Kaskaskia for Vincennes February 5, 1779.⁴⁹

⁴³ James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 146 (Mason letter), 290-293 (memoir). Memoir: "Kentuck we new could immediately furnish perhaps 200 Men." Mason letter: "did not doubt of getting two or three hundred Men from Kentucky."

⁴⁴ Memoir: "A compleat company of Volunteers from DeTroit of Captⁿ Lamothe mostly composed of young men was drawn up and when expecting to be sent of into a strange cuntry and probaly never again returning . . . and that as we new that sending them to the States whare they would be confined in a Jail probably for the course of the war would make a great number of our Friends at DeTroit unhappy we had thought proper for their sakes to suffer them to return home . . . in a few Days they set out (and as we had spies that went among them as Traders we learned that they made great havack to the British interest on their return." *Ibid.*, 291.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 149 (Mason letter), 298 (memoir).

⁴⁶ Mason letter: "Receiving letters from Colo Bowman at Kentucky informing me that I might expect him to Reinforce me with three hund^d men. . . . on my arrival at St Vincents the first of July, instead of two or three hundred Men that I was promised; I found only about thirty Volunteers, meeting with a Repulse from the Shawnees got discouraged Consequently not in the power of the Com^d to March them as Militia, being for some time, (as I hinted before) suspitious of a disappointment, I had conducted matters so as to make no Ill impression on the minds of the Savages in case I should not proceed as the whole had suspected that my design was against Detroit." Memoir: "I received and express from Kentucky wharin Col Bowman informed me that he could furnish 300 good men . . . my self with a party of Horse reached the opost in four Days . . . Instead of 300 Men from Kentucky thare appeared about 30 Volunteers commanded by Captⁿ McGary . . . Col. Bowman had turned his attention against the Shawnees Town and got repulsed and his men discouraged." *Ibid.*, 150, 299, 300.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 115 (Mason letter), 218 (memoir). Clark's diary gives October 1, 1777. *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 238 (memoir). Clark gave his instructions to Dr. Laffont, July 14. Mason letter: "In a few days the Priest, Doctr Lefont, the Principal, with a few others set out." *Ibid.*, 53, 122.

⁴⁹ Mason letter: "By the 4th day of Janu^y I got every thing Compleat and on the

The narrative of the memoir may be tested in still another way for it is to be noted that there are here numerous statements of fact not corroborated by any of the following four documents: Clark's diary, the Mason letter, Clark's journal, or Bowman's journal, but the truth of which is confirmed by other documents of the time. As we have seen, the date of the first entry in the diary is December 25, 1776. Clark's relation to the west during the preceding two years is described in the memoir, constituting eight printed pages. So far as it has been possible to make a comparison, only a minor error in a date has been noted.⁵⁰ The attempt to settle Kentucky by James Harrod and his associates during the spring of 1774 and their return to the site of Harrodsburg after Dunmore's war;⁵¹ the purchase of land by Colonel Richard Henderson from the Cherokee and the settlement of Boonesborough;⁵² Clark's coming to Kentucky as a surveyor for the Ohio company early in 1775;⁵³ his determination to contest the claims of Colonel Henderson and the meeting at Harrodsburg in which Clark and Jones were elected delegates to the Virginia assembly;⁵⁴ the application to Governor Henry and the Virginia council for five hundred pounds of powder for the defense of Kentucky and the return to Kentucky with the powder which had been stored at Pittsburgh.⁵⁵

Similarly, it is seen that on later events the memoir is not only more complete than either of the four sources referred to, but it contains statements supplementary to them. Such are the following: Governor Henry and his conferences with Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, and George Wythe, and their promise

5th I marched." Bowman's journal: "[February] 5th . . . about three O Clock crossed the Kaskaskias River with our Baggage and Marched about a League from the Town." Memoir: "5th of February." *Ibid.*, 139, 156, 269.

⁵⁰ The general meeting at Harrodsburg for selecting deputies to the Virginia assembly was June 8, 1776, instead of June 6. *Ibid.*, 209 (memoir). For the petition for election, see *ibid.*, 11-13.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 208 (memoir). For Harrod's settlement, 1774, see Harrison's journal, April 7-9, 1774, in Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Documentary history of Dunmore's war, 1774* (Madison, 1905), 121.

⁵² Henderson's journal in *Filson club publications*, 16: 169-180.

⁵³ Clark to Jonathan Clark, April 1, 1775, and July 6, 1775, in James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 9. See also *ibid.*, 209 (memoir).

⁵⁴ Clark to Jonathan Clark, February 26, 1776, and the petition from the people of Kentucky. *Ibid.*, 11-16.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 210-215 (memoir). See also the journal of the executive council, August 23, 1776, in *ibid.*, 18.

to use influence to secure three hundred acres of land for each soldier if the expedition were successful;⁵⁶ Henry's secret and public instructions to Clark;⁵⁷ order on Pittsburgh for boats and ammunition;⁵⁸ on the expedition to Kaskaskia, they "shot the Falls during a total eclipse of the sun;"⁵⁹ the letter from Colonel John Campbell, who was at Pittsburgh, announcing the treaty between France and America;⁶⁰ circumstances connected with the capture of Cahokia by Joseph Bowman and his occu-

⁵⁶ Order of council, January 2, 1778: "The Governor informed the Council that he had had some conversation with several Gentlemen who were well acquainted with the Western Frontiers of Virginia." Letter of Wythe, Mason, and Jefferson to Clark, January 3, 1778: "We think it just & reasonable that each Volunteer entering as a common Soldier in this Expedition, should be allowed three hundred Acres of Land." Memoir: "he had several private Counsills composed of select gentⁿ . . . the Expedition was resolved on and as an Incouragement to those that would Ingage in s^d service and Instrument of writing was sign wharein those Gentⁿ promised to use their Influence to procure from the assembly 300 Acres of Land Each in case of suckness." James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 33, 37, 219.

⁵⁷ Memoir: "finding from the Governors conversation to me in Gen^l upon the subject that he did not wish an implicit attention to his instructions." *Ibid.*, 219. For the "Secret Instructions" and "Public Instructions" to Clark, see *ibid.*, 34, 36.

⁵⁸ Patrick Henry to General Edward Hand, January 2, 1778. *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵⁹ A letter from W. S. Burnham addressed to Simon Newcomb who was at the time in charge of the National Observatory at Washington, brought the following reply:

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1886.

DEAR SIR: —

I have much pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter of July 20th, inquiring whether an eclipse of the sun was visible at Louisville, Ky., about the first of June, 1778.

I find by reference to the ephemerides that on the morning of June 24th, 1778, there was a total eclipse of the sun visible in this country, the moon's shadow passing over the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico.

At Louisville the sun must have been four-fifths or even nine-tenths covered about nine o'clock in the morning. It may interest you to know that this was one of the recurrences of the great eclipse of 1868.

Yours very truly,

S. NEWCOMB

⁶⁰ Draper manuscripts, 47 J 22. In a letter written from Pittsburgh Clark was informed of the celebration at that place, May 26, on account of the report that France had acknowledged the independence of the United States; that a treaty of commerce had been made between the representatives of the two nations, and that hostilities between Great Britain and France were to begin. John Campbell to Clark, June 8, 1778, in the *American historical review*, 8: 497. A dispatch announcing the success of the American representatives at Paris was received by congress, May 3, 1778. Francis Wharton, *The revolutionary diplomatic correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), 2: 568.

paney of the old fort as a means of defense;⁶¹ Clark's relation to Cerré;⁶² Winston and Murray were using their influence at Kaskaskia for the Americans;⁶³ subterfuge used by Clark in his letter to the people of Vincennes;⁶⁴ the agreement with Blackbird, chief of the Chippewa;⁶⁵ the appearance of the Indian squaws in a canoe having in their possession a quarter of buffalo;⁶⁶ the completion of Fort Sackville;⁶⁷ supplies of ammunition secured from the French;⁶⁸ conference of Clark and Hamilton during which Clark assured Hamilton that the garrison

⁶¹ "I caused a Court of sivil Judicature to be Established at Kohas Elected by the people Majr Bowman to the supprise of the people held a pole for a Majesty and was Elected and acted as Judge of the Court." James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 235 (memoir). The early records of this court are given in Clarence W. Alvord, *Cahokia records (Illinois historical collections, vol. 2—Springfield, 1907)*, 2-8.

⁶² James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 228 (memoir). Two pages are given to Cerré. The same facts are brought out in a letter from Cerré to Clark, July 11, 1778. *Ibid.*, 47-49. See Clarence W. Alvord, *Kaskaskia records (Illinois historical collections, vol. 5—Springfield, 1909)*, 49.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 28; James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 229 (memoir).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 238 (memoir). "I have been charmed to learn from a letter written by Governor Abbott to M. Rocheblave that you are in general attached to the cause of America." Clark to the inhabitants of Vincennes, July 13, 1778. *Ibid.*, 52.

⁶⁵ Patrick Henry to the Virginia delegates in congress, November 16, 1778: "The Great Blackbird, a Chippewa Chief, has also sent a belt of peace to Col. Clark, influenced, he supposes, by the dread of Detroit's being reduced by the American arms." Memoir: "I told him that I was happy to find that this business was likely to end so much to both our satisfactions and so much to the advantage and Tranquility of Each of our people that I should amediately [write] the Govr of Virginia of what passed between us and that I knew that it would give him [and] all the Americans great pleasure." *Ibid.*, 72, 255. See also the Mason letter, in *ibid.*, 129.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 276; Roosevelt, *The winning of the west*, 2: 76. In the Clark manuscripts, Virginia state archives, is an order, March 12, 1779, signed by Joseph Bowman, which is as follows: "Issue to that squaw that Furnished our men with Provisions on our way to Attact Governor Hemilton one Bushl Corn and five pounds of Pork."

⁶⁷ Hamilton's report: "The fort was on the 22nd of February in a tolerable state of defence the Work proposed being finish'd." Memoir: "we now found that the Garison had known nothing of us that having finished the Fort that eavening." James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 185, 280.

⁶⁸ Hamilton's report: "On our arrival at St. Vincennes a strict search was made for Gunpowder, all that was to be found in the place was put into the Magazine, and a heavy fine was laid on those who should be found to conceal any, nevertheless Colonel Clarke was supplied by the Inhabitants, his own to the last ounce being damaged on his March." Memoir: "Col Legrass Majr Bosseron and others had buried the Greatest part of their powder and Ball this was amediately produced and we found our selves well supplied." *Ibid.*, 192, 281.

would fall and that if the defense were persisted in it would not be possible to save a single man.⁶⁹

Detroit then became Clark's objective for the garrison at that post did not exceed eighty men and the majority of the French were disaffected.⁷⁰ Until the middle of October, 1779, Clark was at Louisville, from which post he superintended military affairs in the west and prepared for the advance on Detroit.⁷¹

It is to be noted that many of the documents used in testing the accuracy of statements in the memoir have been made public for the first time within the past few years. But there are other events referred to which cannot thus be tested for they are given in the memoir alone. In the histories of Kentucky and elsewhere, these statements have been accepted without criticism. Such are: the treatment meted out to the men who escaped from Corn island by the inhabitants of Harrodsburg;⁷² methods of keeping the men in good spirits such as the assistance of the little "antick drummer";⁷³ making light of the fears

⁶⁹ Hamilton's report: "He told me it was in vain to think of persisting in the defence of the Fort, . . . that if from a spirit of obstinacy I persisted when there was no probability of relief and should stand an Assault, not a single Soul should be spared." Memoir: "I told him . . . That he by this time must be sensible that the Garison would Fall . . . and the Result of an Inraged body of Woodmen breaking in must be obvious to him it would be out of the power of an Amican officer to save a single man." James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 190, 286.

⁷⁰ Clark to Patrick Henry, April 29, 1779: "on hearing of my success against Mr. Hamilton, and were so certain of my embracing the fair opportunity of possessing myself of that post, that the merchants and others provided many necessaries for us on our arrival; the garrison, consisting of only eighty men, not daring to stop their diversions." Memoir: "DeTroit opened full in our View not more than 80 men in the Fort great part of them Invalids and we found that a considerable Number of thar prinsipal Inhabitants was disaffected to the British cause." *Ibid.*, 172, 290.

⁷¹ Memoir: "Col. Rogers who had been sent to the mississippi for a very considerable Quantity of Goo[d]s geting a reinforcement at the Falls on his passage to Pittsburgh, a little above Licking Creek got totally defeated himself and almost the whole of his party consisting of about 70 men were killed or made prisoners among the Latter those of Note ware Col. John Campbell and Cap^{tn} Abraham Chapline." Benjamin Logan to Clark, October 17, 1779: "from the alarming news we have received of the defate of Colo Rodgers & Campble." Robert Todd to Clark, October 16, 1779: "I have by chance heard of the disaster of Col. Rogers and the supposed loss of two Boats which has roused & alarm'd them here not a little." *Ibid.*, 302, 371.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 223 (memoir); Roosevelt, *The winning of the west*, 2: 40.

⁷³ Memoir: "a little Antick Drummer afforded them great diversion by floating

of the volunteers; and Clark's orders to go out and kill some deer. On the twenty-second of February when the men were almost despairing, Clark blackened his face with gunpowder and sprang forward into the icy water. His men followed, taking up the song of those in front. The night of February 23 was so cold that ice from one-half to three-fourths of an inch thick formed on the still water. Clark, at sunrise, promised them that a few hours more would bring them in sight of Vincennes. He then plunged into the water, giving orders to Captain Bowman to take the rear with twenty-five men and shoot any refusing to march. In crossing the Horseshoe Plain, many were saved from drowning by the canoes; others clung to their stronger companions and to logs and bushes. Fires were built when the strongest reached an island but some of the men were restored only as two of their companions took them by the arms and forced them to run up and down. Arriving in sight of the town, a horseman who was out shooting ducks was captured, and from him Clark learned that the fort had been completed, that a large number of Indians had just entered the town, and that the French were lukewarm to the British.⁷⁴

Finally, it is to be noted that certain incidents have been introduced into the account of Clark's conquest, supposedly coming from the memoir, but for which there is no evidence whatsoever in that document. The most familiar and most striking of these, furnishing excellent material for the historical pageantry of our time, are: the description of the dance at Kaskaskia when that post was captured;⁷⁵ the defense of Vincennes by

on his Drum &c." James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 271. Writers have enlarged upon this account. "In one of the companies was a small boy who acted as drummer. In the same company was a sergeant, standing six feet two inches in his stockings, stout, athletic, and devoted to Clark. Finding that his eloquence had no effect upon the men, in persuading them to continue their line of march, Clark mounted the little drummer on the shoulders of the stalwart sergeant, and gave orders to him to plunge into the half frozen water. He did so, the little drummer beating the charge from his lofty perch, while Clark, sword in hand, followed them, giving the command as he threw aside the floating ice — 'Forward!' Elated and amused by the scene, the men promptly obeyed, holding their rifles above their heads, and in spite of all obstacles, reached the high land beyond them safely." John Law, *Colonial history of Vincennes* (Vincennes, 1858), 32, note. See also Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark won the northwest*, 52.

⁷⁴ James, *George Rogers Clark papers*, 272-277 (memoir); Roosevelt, *The winning of the west*, 2: 72-77.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 46, note.

Captain Helm and his single companion;⁷⁶ their marching out with the honors of war; the story of Helm's drinking toddy at the fire-place in Fort Sackville and Clark's ordering his riflemen to fire at the chimney so as to knock the mortar into the toddy.⁷⁷

It is evident from these tests that the memoir can no longer be thought of as the reminiscences of an old man who strove for the dramatic in his presentation of facts. Although the language is stilted occasionally, especially in the speeches before Indian councils, it is not conspicuously so when compared with the Mason letter and Clark's journal describing similar events. These two documents together with Clark's diary and Bowman's journal will always constitute the main sources for the history of the west during the period between December 25, 1776, and the close of August, 1779. But from the evidence presented it may confidently be asserted that the memoir must be accepted as a trustworthy supplement to each of them, at times, and to all of them on a number of essential points.

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⁷⁶ "There is an anecdote respecting Captain Leonard Helm, evincing an intrepidity which would ill be omitted: it has been communicated to the author, through the friendly interest of Judge Underwood, and his venerable relative, Edmund Rogers, Esq., of Barren county, a brother of Captain John Rogers, and personally intimate with Clark and his officers for years. It is as follows: when Governor Hamilton entered Vincennes, there were but two Americans there, Captain Helm, the commandant, and one Henry. The latter had a cannon well charged, and placed in the open fort gate, while Helm stood by it with a lighted match in his hand. When Hamilton and his troops got within good hailing distance, the American officer in a loud voice, cried out, 'Halt.' This stopped the movements of Hamilton; who in reply demanded a surrender of the garrison. Helm exclaimed with an oath, 'No man shall enter until I know the terms,' Hamilton answered, 'You shall have the honors of war'; and then the fort was surrendered with its garrison of one officer and one private." Mann Butler, *A history of the commonwealth of Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1836), 79, note.

⁷⁷ "The story of Helm drinking toddy by the fire-place when Clark retook the fort, and of the latter ordering riflemen to fire at the chimney, so as to knock the mortar into the toddy, may safely be set down as pure — and very weak — fiction. When Clark wrote memoirs, in his old age, he took delight in writing down among his exploits all sorts of childish stratagems; the marvel is that any sane historian should not have seen that these were on their face as untrue as they were ridiculous." Roosevelt, *The winning of the west*, 2: 63, note.

THE COMING OF THE CIRCUIT RIDER ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS

There has recently come into my possession the unpublished minutes of the first Methodist conference organized west of the Alleghanies, the Western conference, and their possession has stimulated me to undertake the recounting of the labors of the early circuit riders west of the mountains. My paper will cover the period from the close of the revolution to the year 1811, when this Western conference was divided into two conferences, the Ohio and the Tennessee.

Up until 1784 the Methodist societies in America were under the direct supervision of John Wesley and still considered themselves as belonging to the church of England. Although he was the supervisor of all the Methodist societies in America, Francis Asbury, who had come out to America in 1771 and remained through the revolution, was not an ordained clergyman and had never administered any of the sacraments. For both baptism and the Lord's supper entire dependence was placed upon clergymen of the Anglican church.¹ During the latter years of the war, however, considerable discontent over this situation had grown up among certain of the Methodist preachers, for most of the clergymen had returned to England and the Methodist societies were without the sacraments. In 1779 a number of preachers, mostly from North Carolina and southern Virginia, who had met together, decided to ordain one another, and thereafter proceeded to administer the sacraments. For the sake of peace, however, they agreed to discontinue this practice until Wesley could be consulted. In 1784, a year after the treaty of Paris, Wesley wisely determined that since the United States had achieved independence, it was best for all concerned to separate the Methodist societies in America from the English conference, and in that same year, he sent over Dr. Coke and two other preachers to supervise the organization of the new

¹ Jesse Lee, *A short history of the Methodists in the United States of America; beginning in 1766, and continued till 1809* (Baltimore, 1810), 90.

church.² The Methodist Episcopal church, accordingly, dates from what is known as the Christmas conference, which met in Baltimore, December 27, 1784. Here Francis Asbury was elected general superintendent for America, and from this time Methodism extended rapidly into all parts of the United States. At the time of the organization of the church there were 18,000 Methodists in the United States, but in 1816, the year of Asbury's death, the membership had grown to the astonishing number of 224,853.³

Both the organization and the doctrine of the Methodists were well suited to meet the needs of the frontier. The system begun by John Wesley was brought to America by Francis Asbury, who came thoroughly saturated with his leader's thoughts and resolutely determined to carry out his plan. When he arrived in America Asbury was urged to settle down in the centers of population, but he had heard the call of the wilderness, and, firmly resolved to carry out the Methodist plan, he set out on "the Long Road, and was still traveling forty-five years later when Death finally caught up with him."⁴ Asbury set an example which was followed by an ever increasing army of itinerant preachers. Every Methodist preacher of those early days was an itinerant. Instead of one preaching place he had many, some of the circuits having from twenty to thirty of them. Hence it took a circuit rider from two to six weeks to make his round, preaching once at each place. He was not particular where he held services; a log cabin, or the barroom of a tavern, or out in the woods were all alike to him. He preached wherever he found anyone to listen with little regard to either time or place. Moreover the system of lay or local preachers was one which lent itself easily to the spread of Methodism in a new country. A young man who showed any ability for public speaking was urged by the circuit rider to exercise his talent, and when the presiding elder came around to hold "Quarterly

² Lee, *Methodists in the United States*, 69, 70, 91-93; John Wesley's letters setting forth his plan for the organization of the church in America will be found in *Minutes of the annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church for the years 1773-1828* (New York, 1840), 1: 21.

³ *Ibid.*, 1: 297.

⁴ John Wesley, *Journal* (London, 1915), 6: 2; Ezra Tipple, *Francis Asbury, the prophet of the long road* (New York, 1916), 158.

Meeting" the young man was recommended for an "Exhorter's" or "Local preacher's" license. He did not travel a circuit, but improved every opportunity to preach; consequently the first Methodist classes in many a frontier community were organized by these lay workers before the coming of the regular circuit rider and the presiding elder.⁵

Then, too, the Methodist circuit rider preached a doctrine which appealed greatly to the frontiersmen. It was one of free will and individual responsibility. He brought home to them the fact that they were the masters of their own destinies, as opposed to the Presbyterian doctrine of predestination. Methodist doctrine thus fit in exactly with the new democracy rising in the west, for both emphasized actual equality among all men.

On one occasion when he was attending a conference in Nashville, Peter Cartwright was chosen to deliver a sermon in one of the local churches. While he was preaching General Jackson came in, whereupon one of the preachers pulled Cartwright's coat and said, "General Jackson has come in." Cartwright states that he felt a wave of indignation run over him, then he replied in an audible voice, "Who is General Jackson? If he don't get his soul converted, God will damn him as quick as he would a Guinea negro!"⁶ This was certainly Jacksonian democracy.

Local preachers began early to organize Methodist classes in Kentucky. In 1783 Francis Clark and John Durham, both lay preachers from Virginia, settled in Mercer county, and by the next year a number of local preachers had settled in the state and were at work organizing Methodist classes.⁷ In 1782 the minutes record the sending of a circuit rider to the Yadkin circuit; the next year both Yadkin and Holston are among the number of circuits, and in 1784 the Redstone circuit, in the southwest corner of Pennsylvania, is added to the number. In 1786 the Yadkin circuit reported 426 white members and 11 colored, the Holston 250 white members, and the Redstone 523.⁸ In this

⁵ David Sherman, *History of the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church* (New York, 1874), 181-185.

⁶ *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the backwoods preacher* (New York, 1856), 192.

⁷ Albion H. Redford, *History of Methodism in Kentucky* (Nashville, 1868), 1: 26.

⁸ *Minutes of conferences*, 1: 26.

year the Kentucky circuit was organized with James Haw and Benjamin Ogden as circuit riders. These preachers were welcomed in Kentucky by several Methodist families which had recently come from Maryland and Virginia, and at the end of their first year on the new circuit reported ninety members.⁹

As the population in Kentucky, Tennessee, and along the Ohio increased, the number of circuits and circuit preachers grew likewise. Among the converts made in 1786, which was a year of revival in the western circuits, was Peter Massie, the first convert in Kentucky to become a circuit rider.¹⁰ The minutes for 1789 record the following circuits in Tennessee: Holston, West New river, Greenbrier, and Botetourt; while in Kentucky were Lexington, Danville, and Cumberland; and along the upper Ohio were those of Redstone, Pittsburgh, and Ohio. In 1790 there were 1,373 white Methodists and 40 colored, in Tennessee, while in Kentucky there were 1,265 whites and 87 colored.

With the close of the Indian wars and the signing of the treaty of Greenville, the southern half of Ohio and a narrow strip in southeastern Indiana were opened up to settlement. Settlers, a considerable number of whom had been members of Methodist classes in the older states, began to move into these new grants from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. One of the pioneer preachers writes: "The Indian war having terminated the people began to scatter in every direction. New settlements were formed, and Ohio and Indiana began to settle rapidly, and the societies, many of them were broken up, and we had not preachers sufficient to follow the tide of emigration to their new settlements."¹¹ As a result of this situation there was a decrease of members in the circuits in Tennessee and Kentucky from 1795 to 1801.

The first circuit organized in Ohio was formed in 1798 by John Kobler, who had recently been appointed presiding elder of the Kentucky district. He crossed the Ohio, and preached

⁹ Redford, *Methodism in Kentucky*, 1: 27-32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹¹ "Autobiography of Rev. William Burke," in James B. Finley, *Sketches of western Methodism* (Cincinnati, 1854), 73. In 1797 there were 1,740 white members and 57 colored reported for the Kentucky district. In 1799 the membership had decreased to 1,672 white, though there was a gain of eight colored. *Minutes of conferences*, 1: 74, 86.

in the home of one of these Kentucky Methodists who had migrated to the north side of the river. The Miami circuit, as the new circuit was known, ran from the Ohio up the Little Miami and Mad rivers to where Dayton now stands, thence down the Big Miami to Cincinnati. In 1800 the settlements along the Scioto river were grouped together to form the second Ohio circuit, the Scioto.¹² It happened that the first governor of Ohio, Edward Tiffin, was a Methodist local preacher ordained by Bishop Asbury in 1792. He had come from Virginia to Chillicothe in 1796, in 1799 was elected territorial representative, and when Ohio became a state, he was chosen to be the first governor. His home was always open to Methodist preaching and was the stopping place of many a weary itinerant preacher.¹³ By 1811 eleven circuits had been organized in Ohio, divided between two districts, the Miami and the Muskingum. The circuits in the Miami district were Cincinnati, Mad river and Xenia, Scioto, Deer creek, Pickaway, White Oak, Salt creek, Delaware, and Brush creek, besides two circuits in Indiana, the Lawrenceburg and White Water. The Muskingum district contained Fairfield, Marietta, Little Kanawha, Guyandott, Letart Falls, Knox, and Tuscarawas circuits.¹⁴

While the itinerant preachers were finding their way into the Ohio valley, other preachers, equally zealous, were penetrating into the southwest. Tobias Gibson was appointed a missionary to the southwest in 1798, and starting from the Cumberland settlements, he traveled on horseback some four or five hundred miles; then trading his horse for a canoe, he paddled to all the southwest settlements, preaching wherever he found hearers, finally making his way back to a conference in northern Tennessee in 1802.¹⁵ In 1805 a Mississippi district was formed from four circuits, and manned by five circuit riders and one presiding elder. Among these circuit riders was Elisha Bowman, who was that year appointed to the Opelousas circuit. Soon after the purchase of Louisiana, when Bishop Asbury called for

¹² John M. Barker, *History of Ohio Methodism* (New York, 1898), 88, 92. Also Redford, *Methodism in Kentucky*, 1: 227.

¹³ A sketch of Governor Tiffin may be found in Finley, *Sketches of western Methodism*, 260-287.

¹⁴ *Minutes of conferences*, 1: 212.

¹⁵ John F. Hurst, *History of Methodism* (New York, 1904), 4: 572, 573.

volunteers to carry the gospel into the new territory, Elisha Bowman offered to go. He rode on horseback to New Orleans, which, he states, he found dirty as a pigsty and in almost as bad condition morally. He went to the governor, who promised him that he could preach in the city hall, but when Sunday came the hall was locked against him. There were few Americans in the city, and most of them represented the dregs of society. He learned, however, of an American settlement some two hundred miles west and northwest, which he reached, traveling largely by boat, taking his horse on a platform supported by two canoes. This was the Opelousas country where he found settlements of Americans who knew "very little more about the nature of salvation than the untaught Indians," and he states that "some of them, after I had preached, asked me what I meant by the fall of man, and when it was that he fell."¹⁶ By 1812 nine circuits, known as Wilkinson, Natchez, Claiborne, Amite, Rapids, Washataw, Attakapas, Tombigbee, and New Orleans, had been formed in the southwest.

The Methodists had a prominent part in the great revival which swept over the west between the years 1797 and 1805. It began on the Cumberland, in Kentucky, under the influence of a Presbyterian minister, James McGready. By 1800 the revival had grown to such proportions that it included in its sweep all the denominations on the frontier, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists.¹⁷ During these meetings, also, there originated the camp meeting, which became thereafter a Methodist institution that was employed with great effectiveness. This remarkable revival more than doubled the membership in the Western conference and also greatly increased the number of both local and traveling preachers.

In the midst of this revival Methodist preaching was begun north of the Ohio, in what is now Indiana. In 1803 the rider on the Salt river circuit in Kentucky crossed the Ohio river and

¹⁶ *Minutes of conferences*, 1: 139; William H. Milburn, *Lance, cross, and canoe; the flatboat, rifle, and plough in the valley of the Mississippi* (New York, 1892), 357-360.

¹⁷ Catherine C. Cleveland, *Great revival in the west, 1797-1805* (Chicago, 1916), ch. 2, 3. Accounts of this revival from the Methodist standpoint may be found in the "Autobiography of Rev. William Burke," in Finley, *Sketches of western Methodism*, 77-79; Redford, *Methodism in Kentucky*, 1: 268-272.

preached in Clark's grant, probably following some of the migrating Kentucky Methodists. It was not, however, until 1806 that a complete circuit, which was known as the Silver creek circuit, was laid out in Indiana. In the same year John Sale, the presiding elder in Ohio, sent a young preacher into southeastern Indiana, along the White Water, and by 1811 there were five circuits, wholly or partly in Indiana: the White Water, Lawrenceburg, Silver creek, Vincennes, and Patoka.¹⁸

In 1803 Bishop Asbury sent Benjamin Young as a missionary into the Illinois country. He met with great difficulties. In getting into Kaskaskia his horse was stolen by the Kickapoo Indians, and when he finally reached the town he was very coldly received, even having to pay high rent for the hall in which he preached. He succeeded, however, in forming five classes among the various settlements and at the end of the year reported sixty-seven members. This new circuit included all the settlements from the mouth of the Kaskaskia to Wood river, in Madison county, Illinois. Another missionary, who was sent to "Missourie" in 1806, reported fifty-six members at the end of the first year. In 1811 the Illinois circuit had 411 members, and the Missouri, 172.¹⁹

Between 1788 and 1800 there were at least twelve conferences held west of the mountains. The first of these was in May, 1788, at a place in eastern Tennessee called Half Acres. Other conferences were held at Masterson's station in north central Kentucky in 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1795, and 1796; at Lewis's chapel near Masterson's in 1794, and at Bethel academy in Kentucky in 1797, 1799, and 1800. Bishop Asbury came to a number of these conferences, and as the earlier ones were held during the progress of the Indian wars, several times the bishop was escorted over the mountains by a guard of these western preachers armed for the purpose. He was in attendance at the first conference in 1788, and in 1790 he was once more in Tennessee, having crossed over from North Carolina. He speaks of swimming the horses across the Wautauga, and of the danger from the Indians. He found the "poor preachers indiffer-

¹⁸ William W. Sweet, *Circuit-rider days in Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1916), 1-19.

¹⁹ James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois from 1793-1832* (Cincinnati, 1883), 34-37; *Minutes of conferences*, 1: 209.

ently clad, with emaciated bodies." In May of this same year, after returning to the east, he crossed again from Virginia to Kentucky, two Kentucky preachers, Peter Massie and John Clark, accompanying him to the foot of the mountains, where they were joined by eight others, their company finally numbering sixteen men and thirteen guns. Passing into Kentucky, they crossed the Kentucky river, going "over mountains, steep hills, deep rivers, and muddy creeks, and thick growth of reeds for miles together." He saw the graves of the slain, twenty-four in one camp. He held conference at Masterson's, "a very comfortable house and kind people." Here plans were laid for the establishment of Bethel academy, which was the first Methodist institution of learning west of the mountains, and £300 was obtained in subscriptions. In his trip to Kentucky in 1792, the bishop heard "so much about Indians, Convention, Treaty, killing and scalping" that his attention was drawn away from the affairs of the infant church in the wilderness, and after much alarm concerning depredations committed by the Indians, he finally returned to Virginia with a company of thirty travelers and a few warriors.²⁰ Eighteen such trips were made by Bishop Asbury between 1788 and the time of his death, 1816.

In 1792 the first serious schism in the Methodist church took place, headed by James O'Kelly, a prominent preacher east of the mountains, who objected to Bishop Asbury's supreme appointing power. Those who withdrew with O'Kelly called themselves Republican Methodists, and a number of adherents were won in Kentucky and Tennessee, but most of them finally united with the sect known as the New Lights, and the Republican Methodists as a denomination went out of existence.²¹

The earliest conferences in the west were more or less irregular, but beginning with the one held at Bethel academy in 1800 there was organized a regular conference known as the Western

²⁰ Asbury says of the conference of 1788: "Came to Half Acres and Keywoods where we held conference three days, and I preached each day. The weather was cold, the room without fire and otherwise uncomfortable, we nevertheless made out to keep our seats until we had finished the essential parts of our business." Francis Asbury, *Journal* (New York, 1821), 2: 32; see also *ibid.*, 74, 126, 127.

²¹ Lee, *History of the Methodists*, 178-180; Nathan Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal church* (New York, 1839), 1: 351-356; Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 32, 33.

conference, embracing all the territory west of the mountains. This conference continued for eleven years; then it was divided into the Ohio and the Tennessee conferences. The sessions were held in the fall, generally in the last part of September or early October. Bishop Asbury attended seven of the twelve sessions of this conference, while William McKendree presided at five. Five of the sessions were held in Kentucky, four in Tennessee, and three in Ohio. The first one in Ohio met in 1807 at Chillicothe, while the sessions of 1809 and 1811 met at Cincinnati.²²

The men who were the first to ride these western circuits, and who founded the church in the wilderness, were a group of interesting, if not eminent men. At least they were remarkable for their devotion; no Jesuit missionary ever entered upon his labors with greater zeal than that of these pioneer preachers of the west. None of them, certainly, ever undertook the work of an itinerant for financial return. In 1792 the salary of all traveling preachers was fixed at sixty-four dollars, in 1800 it was raised to eighty dollars a year, but few of the western preachers ever collected even this small sum.²³ The minutes of the Western conference record each year the deficiencies of salaries, and the list for 1804 contains the names of thirty-four preachers whose salary was deficient, out of forty-six in the conference.²⁴ William Burke, the secretary of the conference during all of its history, was the first married man in the west to attempt to travel a circuit. Bishop Asbury discouraged marriage among the western preachers, knowing the increased hardships it would bring, especially to the preachers' wives, so for this reason many of the pioneer preachers ceased to "travel," as the work of the active ministry was called, after their marriage. Burke states that one winter he "had to use a borrowed blanket instead of a cloak or overcoat."²⁵

Many of these men deserve more attention than can be given in so brief a paper. Next to Bishop Asbury in the leadership

²² Manuscript minutes of the Western conference.

²³ Robert Emory, *History of the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church* (New York, 1845), 237, 238.

²⁴ Manuscript minutes of the Western conference, 13, 14.

²⁵ "Autobiography of Rev. William Burke," in Finley, *Sketches of western Methodism*, 91. Also Sweet, *Circuit-rider days in Indiana*, 18.

of the western branch of the church stands William McKendree. Like many of the western preachers he was a native of Virginia. He became an itinerant in 1788, traveling on eastern circuits until 1800 when Bishop Asbury took him across the mountains and gave him charge of the whole Western conference. Here he remained for eight years, then returned to Baltimore to attend the General conference. An eloquent sermon preached by McKendree at this conference procured his election as bishop.²⁶ Among the most eloquent of these early preachers was Samuel Parker, a native of New Jersey, and a man of considerable education. He began to preach in 1800, became presiding elder of a number of the western districts, and died in 1819, having literally burned himself out in the work of the itinerant ministry. Others of these interesting men are Benjamin Lakin, John Sale, Learner Blackman, Peter Cartwright, James Axley, Francis Poythress, and John A. Grenade, a writer of frontier hymns.²⁷

What did the circuit rider do for the west? It goes without saying that he brought the influences of Christianity to the people of the frontier, who in many cases would have been without such influences. He did not wait for the building of churches, or for the organization of congregations, before beginning his work. Indeed, the Methodists were slow in securing houses of worship; they depended upon the cabins of the settlers as

²⁶ William C. Larrabee, *Asbury and his coadjutors* (Cincinnati, 1853), 2: 207-230.

²⁷ Finley, *Sketches of western Methodism*, 202-214; Sweet, *Circuit-rider days in Indiana*; and a "Memorial sketch of the life of Samuel Parker," in *Minutes of conferences*, 1: 358, 359. Fairly satisfactory sketches of the lives of a number of these western preachers may be found in Finley, *Sketches of western Methodism*. John A. Grenade wrote many songs mostly for camp meeting use. An article in the *Methodist review* for 1859, pp. 401-413, by B. S. Fry, discusses "Early camp meeting song writers," and gives considerable space to the songs of John A. Grenade. His songs mostly have the theme, "divine mercy" or "saving grace," of which the following is a sample.

"Think of what your Savior bore,
In the gloomy garden,
Sweating blood at every pore,
To procure thy pardon;
See him stretched upon the wood,
Bleeding, grieving, crying;
Suffering all the wrath of God,
Groaning, gasping, dying."

preaching places long after the Baptists and Presbyterians had begun the erection of substantial buildings. Many times the Methodists borrowed the churches of other denominations for their conferences. They were, however, not only a religious and moral force on the frontier, but a great influence for law and order as well. The Wesleyan system of church government, established in America by Francis Asbury, was most thorough and efficient. Asbury, who was not so great a preacher as he was an organizer, always stood for obedience to the laws of the church. Order was his passion and the introduction of such an orderly system into a more or less disorderly community must have had far-reaching influence. The circuit rider upheld order in public worship to such an extent that he many times took the lead in preserving it. In 1806 at a camp meeting near Marietta a crowd of "rabble and rowdies," as Peter Cartwright called them, came on a Sunday morning, "armed with dirks, clubs, knives, and horsewhips, and swore they would break up the meeting." While Cartwright was preaching one of the rowdies stood up on one of the seats and began to talk and laugh. The preacher ordered him down, but with oaths he refused. The magistrates present were afraid to arrest the young man, so Cartwright took a hand in the matter. After a general scuffle, in which the friends of law and order backed the preachers, the roughs were put to flight, though not until some thirty of them had been captured, and on Monday nearly three hundred dollars in fines and costs were collected.²⁸ This was not an unusual circumstance, but is simply a typical case.

The circuit rider also stood for moderation in religious practices. It has been the general conception that the preachers desired to work up to a state of frenzy at every meeting and took especial delight in such strange exercises as the "jerks," the "barking exercise," trances, and visions, but this is a misconception. Peter Cartwright states that "there were many . . . strange and wild exercises into which the subjects of this revival fell; such, for instance, as . . . the running, jumping, barking exercise. The Methodist preachers generally

²⁸ A. Eddy, "Influence of Methodism on civilization and education in the west," in the *Methodist review* for 1857, pp. 280-296; Tipple, *Francis Asbury*, 241, 244; Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 90-92.

preached against this extravagant wildness. I did it uniformly in my ministrations and sometimes gave great offense."²⁹

Another achievement of Methodism on the frontier was that it trained laymen in the art of public speaking, as perhaps nothing else was able to do. Since lay preaching and class leading naturally fell to the more talented members of the community, many men received training for general political and social leadership.

No other church was so well suited to minister to the wants of the immigrants. "It alone was so organized as to be able to follow step by step this moveable population, and to carry the Gospel even to the most distant cabin. It alone could be present whenever a grave was opened, or an infant was found in its cradle." The other sects moved toward the Mississippi as fast as any number of their adherents formed part of the emigration thither, but Methodism alone exercised a weighty influence upon the mixed crowd, and to it the mass of the western population owes its instruction and belief. Indeed one might well call it the church of the west.³⁰

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²⁹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 51.

³⁰ From an article first printed in the *Revue des deux mondes* by M. Cucheval-Clavigny; translated and republished under the title, "Peter Cartwright and preaching in the west," in the *Methodist review*, 54: 556-577; 55: 69-88.

9.22

FUR TRADING COMPANIES IN THE NORTHWEST, 1760-1816¹

A new epoch in the history of the northwest fur trade began in the year 1760. As soon as the capitulation of Montreal had been signed, British merchants and traders flocked into the great lakes region, where they laid the foundations of a business organization, based upon the principle of freedom of trade, which supplanted the old French system of leased posts and monopolies. The period between 1760 and the outbreak of the revolution was one of beginnings, and the year 1775 found the English and Scotch merchants, who had entered the northwest by way of Montreal, firmly established in the peltry trade. The revolution was a blessing in disguise to these merchants. Just before the war traders from New York were beginning to challenge the supremacy of their northern rivals, but during the period of hostilities British garrisons controlled the upper country and the communications leading thereto, thus excluding the revolting colonies from practically any share in the commerce of the region of the great lakes and the upper Mississippi. The retention of the frontier posts by Great Britain until 1796, which made possible the rigid exclusion of Americans from the northwest, strengthened the monopoly which had been built up during the revolution, and the merchants of Montreal were able to maintain their position within the territory of the United States until after the war of 1812. During this period the traffic in furs was exploited to a very large degree by trading companies, and it is the purpose of this paper to outline the history of these companies and to trace the steps by which American enterprise supplanted British influence within the limits of the United States.

The causes which led to the centralization of the fur trade in the hands of large companies depended to a very considerable

¹ The author had expected to supply from his notes references to the sources upon which this paper is based, but his entrance into the army made that impossible. He has therefore consented to allow it to be printed without references. — ED.

degree upon the general conditions under which the industry was carried on. During the period of British influence, as during the days of the old French régime, the northwest peltry trade occupied three fairly distinct areas. Detroit was the center of the commerce of the region between the great lakes and the Ohio river, including a part of the lower peninsula of Michigan. Michillimackinac was the *entrepôt* for the trade of the broad valley of the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, together with the region south of lake Superior. The vast territory stretching north and westward beyond lake Superior constituted a third area, for which a post at Grand Portage served as the general rendezvous. Montreal was the great emporium for the trade of the entire northwest, and it was literally true that all roads, or waterways, to be more accurate, led to Montreal.

The tremendous distances which goods and furs must be carried rendered it physically impossible for a single individual efficiently to supervise the trade in all its stages from the Montreal warehouse to the wilderness post and led to the development of a sort of commercial hierarchy. At the top were the great Montreal firms which imported goods from England on commission and forwarded them to their customers at the upper posts. At Detroit and Michillimackinac were many smaller merchants who made up into outfits the goods imported from Montreal, selling them in turn to the wilderness traders who followed the Indians to their hunting grounds, or trading them on their own account through the medium of hired clerks. The furs carried in from the hunting grounds might be disposed of to the merchants or outfitters in the upper country, or they might be sent to Montreal, or even to England, to be sold on account.

The profitable exploitation of the industry depended upon the elimination of cut-throat competition, always the bane of the fur trade, the amenities of which, in one instance, are revealed in the words of Alexander Mackenzie, in an account of an early struggle with the North-west company: "After the severest struggle ever known in that part of the world, and suffering every oppression which a jealous and rival spirit could instigate; after the murder of one of our partners, the laming of

another, and the narrow escape of one of our clerks, who received a bullet through his powder horn in the execution of his duty, they were compelled to allow us a share of the trade." The character of the fur trade, the great distances involved, and the length of time which must elapse before any return could be secured on the goods imported from England, rendered some form of business coöperation most desirable. The organization of the industry, moreover, would tend to do away with the lawless conditions which were only too apt to prevail in the interior under the régime of the private trader. These were the causes leading to the formation of the companies which arose during the period following the revolution.

This need for some sort of organization led early to the formation of certain companies or associations of merchants at Detroit and Michillimackinac during the revolution and the years immediately following. In 1779, the merchants of Michillimackinac pooled their interests in a kind of partnership which they called a general store. The agreement was of a temporary nature, however, and the association came to an end without having any permanent influence upon the trade of the region. Shortly after the close of the revolution there was a tremendous increase in the quantity of goods for the Indian trade sent into the upper country by way of Montreal. Competition increased by leaps and bounds and it was soon evident to the merchants at the upper posts that a remedy must be found. With the idea of limiting the quantity of goods sent to the interior, a number of merchants with headquarters at Michillimackinac formed a partnership in 1785 called the General company of lake Superior and the south, or more briefly referred to as the General society. The agreement was for a period of three years and the operations of the company were extended over a wide range of territory in the upper country from lake Superior southward to the Illinois country, and from lake Michigan westward to the headwaters of the Missouri river, in the Spanish territory of Louisiana. The concern appears to have broken up about 1787, however, before the expiration of the period of agreement, and there is no evidence of any further attempt to organize the trade of the region dependent upon Michillimackinac until 1806. The demoralization of the com-

merce of the country dependent upon Detroit, owing to ruinous competition and the unrest among the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, led to the organization, in 1786 or thereabouts, by six Detroit firms of a similar partnership called the Miami company. Little is known about the history of this concern beyond the fact that it was still in existence in 1789. The period from 1760 to 1816 was marked by a decline in the trade of the region dependent upon Detroit, for the settler's frontier was beginning to encroach upon the trader's wilderness.

The trade of the British merchants attained its highest development in the region occupied by the North-west company, an organization which dominated the trade of the Canadian northwest from the close of the American revolution until its union with the Hudson's bay company in 1819. The origins of the company must be sought in the activities of Alexander Henry, Peter Pond, the Frobisher brothers, and other doughty traders who penetrated the region beyond lake Superior during the years which followed the conquest of Canada. Various attempts at coöperation on the part of the Canadian merchants trading to the northwest prior to the close of the revolution were followed in the winter of 1783-1784 by the formation of a sixteen-share company at Montreal. Frequent reorganizations of the company followed, new partners being admitted from time to time, and when the agreement of 1804 was drawn up, the number of shares had been increased to one hundred.

The manner in which the North-west company conducted its business is of considerable interest and importance, inasmuch as it served as a prototype for other similar organizations. Certain of the firms whose members were interested in the concern were located at Montreal and had charge of the importation of the goods which were traded by the company and also disposed of the furs which were sent down from the upper country. Certain members of these firms were selected to supervise the transportation of the outfits along the water communications, and attend to the securing of provisions and supplies. A large number of the shareholders located in the upper country were called wintering partners. They attended personally to the trade of the interior and directed the operations of the clerks and *engagés* of the concern. The North-west company con-

ducted all its own business through the various stages, importing goods from England through its agents at Montreal, and dividing the net profits among the partners in proportion to their respective shares. The general policy of the company was determined at the annual meeting of the partners at Grand Portage.

The organization prospered greatly and gradually absorbed all its rivals. A period of ruinous competition, which began in 1798 with the establishment of the New North-west, or X Y company, as it was often called, was terminated by the union of the two companies under the northwest agreement of 1804. At this time the territory controlled by the North-west company included the wilderness beyond lake Superior and also a considerable extent of territory within the United States. Its *bourgeois* and clerks were stationed in the departments of Red lake and Fond du Lac in Minnesota, upon the Chippewa river and Lac du Flambeau in northern Wisconsin, at Chequamegon in the upper peninsula of Michigan, upon Rainy lake, along the boundary between the United States and Canada, and upon the upper reaches of the Red river.

Prior to 1806, commerce of the region to the south of the territory controlled by the North-west company was practically unorganized. After the General society at Michillimackinac had come to an end about 1787, the trade of the country depending upon that post was in the hands of small individual firms, and the frequent references of secondary writers to a Mackinac company supposed to have been in existence before 1806 are incorrect. Shortly after the union of the North-west and X Y companies in 1804, however, a project was formed to organize the trade of the upper Mississippi valley by establishing a company similar to the one which had been so successful in the northwest. The result was that, in 1806, articles of agreement were drawn up at Montreal which were to serve as the basis of a new fur-trading concern, the Michillimackinac, or Mackinac company.

Its form of organization indicates that the new enterprise was modeled upon the North-west company. The general conduct of the business at Montreal was in the hands of Forsyth, Richardson, and company; McTavish, McGillivray, and company;

James and Andrew McGill and company; and Parker, Gerrard, Ogilvie, and company. A number of merchants and small trading firms with headquarters at Michillimackinac put a certain amount of goods in the stock of the concern, in return for which they received shares and were known as wintering partners. The resemblance to the organization of the North-west company is obvious and the reason is not far to seek. Both Forsyth, Richardson, and company, and McTavish, McGillivray, and company were influential shareholders in the older company, and it was only natural that they should organize the new concern along lines with which they were familiar.

There was a complete understanding between the Michillimackinac and North-west companies, and the same day the articles of agreement establishing the former were drawn up, an arrangement was made between the two, whereby each was assigned a particular sphere of influence. The North-west company agreed to abandon its posts in the interior of northern Wisconsin, together with those on the south side of lake Superior between the Sault Ste. Marie and Chequamegon, while retaining the posts between Chequamegon and the western end of lake Superior. The boundary as further described in the articles of agreement was to run due westward from lake Superior to the point where the Sheyenne empties into the Red river. In view of this arrangement, the Michillimackinac and North-west companies are in no sense to be regarded as rivals.

If all had gone well, the partners of the Michillimackinac company might have equaled the success of the North-westerns, but their plans seemed foredoomed to failure. In the first place, the new company had been formed during a period of strained relations between England and the United States. The Canadian merchants trading from Montreal to the upper country complained frequently that excessive duties were collected by United States customs officers, and they likewise lived in continual dread of the effect which the Non-importation and Embargo acts might have upon their trade. In 1810 they complained that the Non-intercourse act prevented them from carrying their goods into the territory of the United States and bringing away their furs. The Jay treaty had stipulated that British fur traders should be free to operate within the United

States, but in 1805, General Wilkinson of the Louisiana territory issued a proclamation excluding foreign traders from the Missouri river, on the ground that the provisions of the treaty did not apply to territory acquired in 1803. The attempt to enforce this restriction aroused grave apprehension among the partners of the Michillimackinac company, some of whom believed that if the concern were obliged to confine its activities to the country east of the Mississippi, it might as well cease operations. In 1796, the United States had adopted a plan for the establishment of government trading factories, primarily for the purpose of winning the Indians away from British influence. By 1808 there were government houses at Mackinac, Chicago, Fort Madison, and Fort Osage, which were gaining a considerable share of the commerce previously monopolized by British traders operating from Michillimackinac. American competition was threatening from another quarter also, for in 1808, John Jacob Astor, who had been engaged in the fur trade for several years and was thoroughly familiar with the business methods of the merchants of Montreal, organized the American fur company and at once planned to develop the industry upon an unprecedented scale.

Within three years of the time when the Michillimackinac company was founded, it had become apparent to the wintering partners and to the shareholders at Montreal that the enterprise was a failure. Early in 1810, John Richardson and William McGillivray went to New York to treat with Astor concerning the possibility of selling the interests of the Michillimackinac enterprise to the American fur company. Exactly what arrangements they made with Astor it is impossible to say, but from the subsequent course of events it is possible to infer what took place. In 1810, the Michillimackinac company was dissolved, in the manner prescribed by the original articles of agreement, and Forsyth, Richardson, and company, and McTavish, McGillivray, and company, two of the firms interested therein, formed a new concern called the Montreal-Michillimackinac company. On January 8, 1811, an agreement was drawn up which brought about a merger between this new concern and the American fur company. To this merger was given the name of the South-west company.

The character of the partnership thus formed is of considerable interest and has been quite generally misunderstood. Astor did not, as has often been stated, buy out the Michillimackinac company. The organization was dissolved and was superseded by the Montreal-Michillimackinac company, a portion of the goods of the original concern being purchased by the latter, while a portion was taken over by the American fur company. The articles of agreement by which the South-west company was formed were to continue in force for a period of five years. Half the goods used in the trade were to be supplied by the American fur company and were to be imported by way of New York, while the other half were to be supplied by the Montreal partners, and to be imported by way of Quebec. The proceeds of the trade were to be divided equally between the two companies. Inasmuch as Forsyth, Richardson, and company, and McTavish, McGillivray, and company were two of the leading shareholders in the North-west company, they were able to make certain stipulations and concessions on its behalf in drawing up the articles of agreement with Astor. The American fur company was to confine its activities to the limits of the United States, with the exception of certain Canadian territory near lake Huron not exploited by the North-west company. In return the North-west company agreed to give up all trade with the Indians south of the United States boundary. It is significant, however, that these provisions were not to apply to "any County beyond the Ridge of the Rocky Mountains, nor the River Missouri nor the North West Coast or the Pacific Ocean." That the United States government factories had by this time gained a considerable share of the trade of the northwest is apparent from the fact that the articles of agreement provided that if the government trading houses should be abolished, two-thirds of the business of the South-west company, instead of one half, should be under the direction of the American fur company. It was evidently assumed that the removal of the factories might be expected to increase the business of the whole concern by about one half.

Time does not permit of any account of the operations of the South-west company during the following years. It extended its commerce over the same territory which had been exploited

by the Michillimackinac company and appears to have employed similar business methods. The war of 1812 disorganized the fur trade to a very considerable extent and led indirectly to the dissolution of the South-west company. Ever since the frontier posts had been surrendered in 1796, the feeling had prevailed in the United States that British traders operating in American territory were exerting a dangerous political influence over the Indians, a feeling which was accentuated by the war of 1812. The treaty of Ghent contained no stipulation with regard to the Indian trade, so in April of 1816, Congress seized the opportunity to enact a law which prohibited foreigners from carrying on the fur trade within the United States.

It has been asserted that Astor was instrumental in securing the enactment of this law; at any rate, he lost no time in going to Montreal, where he made arrangements with Forsyth, Richardson, and company, and McTavish, McGillivray, and company, for the purchase of their interests in the South-west company. The withdrawal of these Montreal firms marks the final disappearance of the British commercial influence which had been such an important factor in the history of the great lakes and upper Mississippi region since the conquest of Canada. Henceforth, until the industry itself disappeared, the fur trade of this territory was controlled by Americans, who employed, however, the same business methods which had been developed under the British régime.

In the foregoing discussion, an effort has been made to sketch in briefest outline the development of the great British trading companies in the northwest and to indicate certain phases of their history which have hitherto remained obscure, notably the origin of the Michillimackinac company and the nature of its connection with the American fur company. Another twenty minutes might easily be given to a bare enumeration of certain problems which have presented themselves during the preparation of this sketch, for to anyone who has made any investigation in this field of study, it is apparent that the history of the northwest fur trade is yet to be written.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY AS A FIELD OF STUDY FOR MISSISSIPPI VALLEY STUDENTS

In the colleges in all parts of our country certain courses in history are offered which deal with what might be called standardized fields, such as ancient, English, modern, European, and American history, with their various subdivisions. Then there are what may be termed local interest courses, which differ in various parts of the country. Among these are courses in state history, and others of a more or less local nature. The Mississippi valley naturally is interested in its own history, and such work as most of our teachers of history in this region give in addition to that along well-established lines usually deals with some phase or phases of the development of this great river valley. Such study is right, natural, and proper. There are some fields, however, that, while not standardized as fields for history courses and while not in or of the Mississippi valley, have yet so much of especial interest to us who live in this valley as to justify courses dealing with them. I refer to such fields as that of the history of Canada—particularly of the western part where the settlement has been so similar to and yet so different from that of our middle west—of the history of the northwest, of the southwest, of the south as a whole, and of the Latin-American countries. All these touch our interests at certain points, but it is of the latter that I wish to treat.

From some points of view the historical connection between southwestern United States and the Latin-American countries is a close one. The beginnings of the history of that region, after its discovery by the Spaniards, are rather intimately related to the earliest recorded history of our Mississippi valley. Recall how Pineda, when exploring the Gulf coast in 1519, and going westward from Ponce de León's Florida coast, was the first to map the southern boundary of our valley, and, indeed, was the first white man to set eyes upon any nook or corner of this vast and fair interior region—surely an event of some

interest in our history. Moreover his expedition, together with that of Grijalva, who had been searching eagerly but in vain for the long-desired passage through the land barrier and, in 1518, had been mapping the coast-line from Yucatan northward, closed the gap in that unknown coast-line. Thus there was traced at practically the same time and as part of the same general exploring movement the Atlantic coast-line of the northern part of Latin America and the southern boundary of our valley.

The ill-fated expedition of Nárvaez in 1528 put another seal on the Spanish title to our region. A few years later, in 1542, it was one of the fearless, dare-devil leaders developed by the Spanish colonial life in Española who, after making a fortune as a gentleman adventurer in the typical business of gold-washing and stock-raising in that island colony, decided to seek new fields of adventure and so to enjoy spending some of his riches—on the chance of finding new and greater wealth. The result of this decision was the well-equipped expedition of Fernando de Soto, which, hindered and delayed by almost incredible hardships due to forests, fevers, and Indians, came slowly but determinedly toward the Father of waters. Slashing, hacking, or cajoling its way it crept along until finally it discovered and crossed the mighty center and cause of our valley, the Mississippi. To the westward, at the same time, Coronado's party was exploring the southwestern part of this same region. For a century and a half this territory, if it belonged to any European power, was a part of Spanish America. Not until La Salle made his voyage in 1682 could any nation or government, on the basis of having explored any part of it, successfully challenge the title of Spain to this land. The accident that Spanish administrators were so busy in their greedy quest for wealth in the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru that they did not more thoroughly explore and occupy the territory does not alter the fact that the first emblem of civilized government that had a right to be set up in the Mississippi valley was the standard of Spain—the standard of most of Latin America for three hundred years—and that right continued for over a century and a half, a longer period of time than the stars and stripes have as yet had the right to fly here.

Spanish influence in and upon this region during the eighteenth century and in the early part of the nineteenth is a far from negligible element in the history of the United States. Spanish influence in the west during our revolution was the theme of an important contribution made by Professor James at the last meeting of the American historical association. The early Spanish settlements along the Mississippi had a strong influence upon the character and amount of the early river trading. Spanish ownership of Louisiana had a lasting effect; as far north as Iowa Spanish law has had to be administered in our courts in connection with land titles. There were various commercial and boundary troubles with the Spanish during the administrations of Washington and Adams, and indeed even until the treaty of 1819. The liberty-loving spirit of the middle west applauded the struggle of the Spanish colonies to win their freedom, and Henry Clay, the first Pan-American, was a true representative of his constituents in that respect. In fact Spain and Spanish America were so intimately bound up with a great part of our western life during that period that the study of Latin-American history cannot rightfully be left out. Thus the historical connections are both interesting and significant.

It is not the historical connection between the Mississippi valley and Latin America, however, which kindles the chief interest of the student of one region in the other, or which chiefly justifies such study and interest. It is rather the general, and in some respects striking, similarity of the economic and industrial development and problems of the two regions throughout their history. In this respect it is undoubtedly the eastern, the agricultural and pastoral part of South America, that is of greatest interest to us. That great and mighty river, the Paraná, swinging southward bears a striking resemblance to the Mississippi. Moreover it has created a remarkably similar life and activity in its drainage basin. The great stretches of prairie land used in time for grazing great herds, the period of the cowboy (called in South America the Gaucho), picturesque and at times wild, but teeming with virility; the gradually developing river traffic as villages became towns, and towns grew to cities on its banks; the railway development which, as it

brought in settlers, changed the industrial situation of the region; the cutting down of the great ranches and the forcing out of existence of the cowboy; the startling rapidity of all this development; and, finally, the establishment of a varied agricultural and industrial life, which grew and continues to grow ever more intricate with the increasing population—all these experiences belong to Argentine and Uruguay in common with the Mississippi valley. There is no other place on the earth's surface where as many economic problems are so similar to those in our middle west as the valley of the Paraná. The topography of the country, its climatic conditions, the character of the grain crops, the meat and timber industries, the problems of transportation over long distances of comparatively level land, the growth of large cities dependent upon these very industries—all these problems and others are almost precisely the same as those encountered by the people of the Mississippi valley. The one strikingly dissimilar element is the social one: the people are different. That one different element in the situation gives a keen edge to the study of their industrial, political, and economic problems by one who has in the background of his mind the history of these same problems as they were met and solved by the people of the Mississippi valley.

The interest of our students in the west coast of South America is entirely natural, growing out of the probably increasingly intimate commercial relations, for the Panama canal is a direct connecting link between the Mississippi valley and the ports of Chile, Peru, and Ecuador. Another reason, perhaps, for our interest in the west coast is that much of our capital and many of our young engineers are at work there, and the influences of both are bound to increase, probably rapidly, in the future.

Among the increasing number of young men from our colleges and universities who are going into commercial life there is a growing interest in Latin America. More of them study the Spanish language each year. Their interest is being fed and stimulated in many ways, among others by government literature. Among the titles of recent publications issued by the government are "Banking opportunities in South America,"

"Tariff systems of the South American countries," "Practical Pan-Americanism," "Financial developments in South America," "A glance at Latin-American civilization," "Plants from Colombia and Central America," and "Secondary schools in Central America." A wide and legitimate interest is being aroused largely along business lines, but not wholly so, and we owe it to the alert young manhood of our section of the country to provide an opportunity in our colleges and universities for them to study the history and the present conditions of these continental neighbors of ours, the "other Americans." Such study is natural, cultural, and practical; it is truly educational and deserves to be a part of our serious instructional courses in history and economics; perhaps, also, of our research work, although that is not the work I am just now most interested in urging upon your attention.

No longer can it be said, as it could have been charged a few years ago, that "there is not material available for such a course." It is true there is no adequate text-book, but this is a field preëminently suited to the lecture method and not to a text-book study. The lecturer must, of course, be able to handle Spanish as well as French and German, for much valuable material is printed in these languages. Moreover he must read Portuguese if he attempts to deal intensively with Brazilian history. But for most class assignments, of course, English materials must be used, for although we usually have individual students who can use Spanish as a tool we seldom have a class to which other than English assignments can be made—at least such is my experience.

One who has not come into touch with this field is almost invariably surprised at the amount of material printed in English, part of it written by Englishmen, part by Americans, and some translated from the Spanish, French, and German. Without making or trying to make anything like a complete list may I run over the names of some of the writers whose work has been a contribution of value for use in a general course on Latin America? First, there are several old standard writers whose work has much of value and cannot be neglected, such as H. H. Bancroft, Prescott, Justin Winsor, and, a little later, Deberle (translated from the French), Arthur Hinds, and Akers.

Of the group of writers who have published careful and helpful studies on definite fields we have Moses, William Roscher, Bingham, Paxson, Robertson, Reinsch, Chapman, Don M. Smith, Richman, Jones, Martinez, Mozans, Sir Clements R. Markham, Martin Hume, and Percy F. Martin. Among the general works of a stimulating and helpful nature are those by James Bryce, Ross, Clémenceau, Shepherd, Garcia-Calderón, Dawson, Porter, Enock, Domville-Fife, Hale, and Rafael Reyes. Then there are many works of purely descriptive character, books of travel, of mountain climbing, and of missionary journeys, which must be assigned with discrimination, but some of which are very illuminating and helpful. Added to these are the files of the Pan-American union, the annual *South American year book*, the hand books of the various countries, Stanford's *Compendium*, Babson's reports, a mass of consular, governmental, and Pan-American reports, the *Clark university addresses* of 1913, and, finally, the reports of various congresses such as the Second Pan-American scientific congress of 1915 and the Panama congress of religions of 1916. All these are easily available in English.¹ Thus there is a rapidly growing literature on the subject, adequate for the students' reading and study, though of course unorganized. Material is available in English for as difficult a course as one may wish to conduct.

What will probably prove to be a valuable aid in the future is the journal dealing with Latin-American history and conditions which will probably be started soon, and for which a committee of the American historical association headed by Dr. James A. Robertson is now gathering a guaranty fund. This journal, according to tentative plans now made, will contain not only historical contributions from scholars in the two Americas, but a variety of notes, comments, and information intended to help us know the Latin-American countries of today. It will aim to engender sympathy and understanding and thus promote in the Americas the feeling of internationalism. "It will effect its purpose by establishing an 'entente cordiale' among the scholars (big and little) of the different countries." Thus

¹ I am making no reference to the large number of Spanish sources of information that are available, most of them not quite so easily obtainable it is true, but still entirely possible of being secured.

it will undoubtedly prove a useful and helpful tool for students in this field.

In connection with the course which I have been giving in Grinnell for some six years I have found that there are in this field many topics and problems which lend themselves readily and easily to graphic work. My students have seemed to find genuine pleasure, and have done much real work, in putting the results of their individual studies or class reports into the form of charts. I stipulate each time at the beginning of the course that these charts are to be a contribution to the permanent library of this course, and thus I have a rather large collection of charts dealing with comparative conditions in countries or in parts of countries regarding problems of education, population, immigration, missions, industries, natural resources, railways, and a variety of historical subjects. These obviously serve two purposes. The student knowing that his work on these charts must bear his name and knowing also that they are to be preserved as parts of the collection in a large case built especially for them and are to be used by succeeding students in the subject, spurs himself to put into the charts the best work of which he is capable. It gives him excellent training in the selection of sources. Some of the charts are exceedingly well done and are valuable aids to classes. Secondly, as time goes on, by turning to my case and selecting from it the proper charts I have graphic proof or representation of almost any development or tendency at the time under class discussion. We therefore have a growing accumulation of at least semi-original material in this form.

Interest in the course seems to be keen, doubtless owing largely to the fact that it is full of what is to the student novel and picturesque material, from the time of the study of those wonderful cultures known as the Inca, Maya, Quichua, and Aztec, through the period of the forceful, cruel, domineering, yet brave and attractive, *conquistadores*, into the study of the details of the great Spanish colonial system, through the heroically fought wars of independence, and into the varied history of the present-day nations. Without exception there is astonishment at the strides many of these nations have taken,

and there is developed in the minds of the students a profound respect for them, together with a sympathetic understanding of many of their problems. I have seen students broaden in their interests and in the scope of their understanding while working in this course. Incidentally, in connection with such a course as this, it is necessary to give the student a good stiff dose of Spanish and Portuguese history as it developed in the peninsula, in order that he may have the right perspective of that history in the Americas. Otherwise he can hardly understand the large measure of power residing in the local municipalities in the colonies, the development of the Inquisition in America, the institution of the "audiencia," and many other of the important elements of that history.

There is a wide field from which such study will draw aside from the definite advantages thus far noted. It will put one into touch with the wholesome and progressive spirit of Pan-Americanism. It will enlarge our sympathies as well as our knowledge; and as citizens of a great republic it should be a source of pride to us, as well as a definite aim on our part, to learn of the ideals, hopes, and accomplishments of other republics in order to fully appreciate them, for the rule that a man cannot truly appreciate another until he knows him applies as well to a people or a nation. Moreover, because of the increasingly important place that many of the Latin-American states are coming to take as contributors to and sharers in the world relations, economic, political, and literary, no educated man of the next generation can afford to be ignorant of Latin-American conditions if he would make any pretense whatever at being a well-informed person.

We of this middle west region, then, should desire to give to the students in our history departments full opportunity of becoming acquainted with this field, so that they may understand the extent and causes of the progress of Latin America, the type and meaning of its civilization. Are there any reasons why Mississippi valley students and scholars should not be interested in Latin-American history? If so, I do not know them. This phase of history deals with a region that lies a neighbor, almost next door to the Mississippi valley; courses

in it can be easily made practical, interesting, and educationally profitable. Thus it is that I would urge that at least a one-year, general, elective course on the history of Latin America be made a part of the usual curriculum of our colleges and universities.

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PAGEANTRY POSSIBILITIES

It will be my endeavor today to tell you something of those phases of pageantry which have to do with organization, mechanism, and practicability. The purpose and value of pageantry I shall neglect, knowing that you are well acquainted with the peculiar beauty, the sustained inspiration, and the patriotic power that characterize this form of outdoor drama. In giving my talk I shall take the liberty of referring, from time to time, to my own experiences with recent pageants given during the Indiana centenary. When I have finished, I hope you will have received some useful hints about the writing and producing of pageants.

The most important feature of pageants, briefly stated, is their accessibility. If you really want a pageant you can have one; it is within the reach of all, regardless of the size and means of the community. A pageant, in its completed state, appears to be a tremendous and costly spectacle. It can be made so, yet its success does not depend on magnitude or costliness, for it is a plastic medium of inspiration that can be produced by any community and amplified or modified to suit local conditions. No one need feel that a pageant is beyond his power. If you want one intensely enough, you can make one by yourself. If your whole community will not help you, perhaps half of it will; if one hundred people refuse to act, five, three, or one of you can. All that you need is determination, courage, and spirit; then a group of friends and citizens who will act as players, willing to do your bidding.

Two things seem to be essential for a successful pageant: a genuinely patriotic spirit and a scenario that has a unifying idea, capable of dominating the entire pageant. This last is most necessary from the dramatic standpoint, for without it the pageant is formless, inconsequential, and even incapable of holding the attention of the audience. Such a unifying idea, however, need not be pretentious or intricate. If the pageant has to do with the growth and development of a state, unity may

be secured easily and practically by the arrangement of the events of the pageant itself, by means of a broad observance of historical continuity. The early episodes, for instance, can be made to relate to the frontier period, later ones to civil war times, and concluding events to the present. Perhaps the pageant will have to do with the history of education in the state. Here, again, historical order may accompany the order of the episodes. First come the schools of colonial days; then, perhaps, the period of the log cabin and the little red school house; finally, the modern school and high school days, the college and the university. Unconsciously, the audience will compare and contrast conditions, and thus, through just such a simple device, the growth in educational systems and methods is made apparent. The impression of unity is heightened, furthermore, by the introduction of a central group of historical or symbolical characters who go through the entire pageant, pointing out their particular relation to the episodes and scenes. The audience, in imagination, follows these characters through their experiences, just as it would follow the characters in a play or a guide who is pointing out a new country. In a recent pageant this plan was followed out by the introduction of two symbolical characters, History and Education, accompanied by a group of historical personages. Education comes forth, accompanied by a group consisting of the great teachers of all ages—Socrates, Aristotle, Calvin, Froebel, and Horace Mann. Then Education meets Columbia, who is, in turn, accompanied by the Sister States. Columbia calls forth Indiana from the group of Sister States and asks her to show Education the work that she has done along educational lines, during the century that has passed. Indiana responds to this request by displaying the various events of the pageant to the assembled company. The events, of course, treat matters of educational interest. At the conclusion of the pageant, Education, in pantomime, congratulates Indiana on her accomplishments and crowns her with the laurel. By placing such symbolic figures as these in the foreground, unity of impression is effected, a thread of plot developed, and a resultant continuity of interest attained. Similarly, in another pageant, the State Indiana herself, accompanied by a group of girls representing the counties, meets on the university campus

Father Time, accompanied by Day, Night, and the Hours. Indiana begs Time to linger a moment with his companions in order that he may survey the beauties of the place and learn its history. Time refuses, but permits the Hours to remain. They do so gladly and immediately perform the dance of the Hours. Then the State invokes, by means of a magic fire, the spirits of the past and of the place and the events that concerned them. Then there appear, in historical order, the various incidents and personages of the pageant itself. When all these have been displayed the pageant proper is over. The Hours perform a dance of praise and homage, then disappear into the distance, whereupon Indiana and the Counties solemnly depart.

These descriptions illustrate how unity of impression is secured through the historical continuity of the pageant and through the introduction of symbolical characters who accompany the episodes and point out their meaning.

There is still another way to create the impression of unity, That is through the costumes, the costumes worn by the principal characters and the costumes worn by the various groups. Such groups and characters, dressed according to a certain definite color scheme and a particular design and remaining constantly before the spectators, are bound to create a permanent and unified impression. The music, too, can be made by means of motifs, themes, trumpet calls, and descriptive passages, to have the same effect. Band music, by the way, is preferable to any other kind, as it has more volume and carries better in the open. The music should be continuous, as in the opera, for it can obscure many an awkward gap and the impending monotonous wait.

The plot of the pageant should be simple, the main outline plastic and adaptable to interpolation. Detail and intricacy in the main theme are impractical and useless, for a tremendous audience cannot, from a distance, follow intrigue and counter-plot. A few simply drawn characters, typical of some definite purpose and allied to the various episodes, can give a peculiar sort of interest that answers for pure plot interest. An audience derives much pleasure from seeing Abraham Lincoln or some other famous impersonated character walking about naturally in the world of today.

After the main outlines of the pageant have been constructed individual episodes may be considered. Here great variety is both possible and desirable. There may be action, change, scenes from plays or books by local authors, tableaux, exhibitions, feats of dexterity, drills, and dances. A single character may hold the stage, or ten thousand may participate in a spectacular flag drill. Even humor and pathos may be introduced in a domestic scene of early days, or in the larks of school children playing in the school yard.

To illustrate ways and means in pageantry, I will hastily run through a program that could be produced on a large or small scale. For convenience, I will say that the pageant is for the city of Chicago, because this city and her achievements are so well known to all. I will merely sketch in the incidents and rely on historical continuity to create unity of impression.

The first episode shows the early history of Chicago. It is a scene from Indian life, with wigwams, campfires, hunters, squaws, horses, dogs, and war dances. The early explorers arrive; in proper order and in characteristic scenes, appear Joliet and Marquette, La Salle, Hennepin, Tonty, and their associates. They study the place and make plans. Next to appear is Jean Baptiste Point de Sable, who builds a log cabin for himself; then Le Mai, the fur trader, who talks with De Sable and decides to buy his home. Following him comes John Kinzie, the first white settler. He also barter for this cabin home, gets it, and makes it his dwelling place. The scene closes with the subsequent arrival of homesteaders, pioneers, and traders who set about building their houses, providing for their wants, and making plans for the town. They begin, also, to lay out the streets and start the foundations for the first public structure over which they place a banner, bearing the words "Esray Pen."

An episode of this sort dealing with early conditions, forms an excellent introduction for the typical pageant. It may be either simple or elaborate, enacted easily by twenty or thirty people in appropriate costumes, or by several hundreds, elaborately dressed as Indians and settlers, who engage in a great fight with involved maneuvers and a victorious climax.

The second episode is composed of a series of historical tableaux in chronological order. The first one depicts the formal

founding of the town in 1830, while the others show the incorporation of the city in 1833, the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal, and the chartering of the city in 1837. All these tableaux show respectively the prominent men of the time, the costumes of the period, and the appropriate backgrounds. A simple substitute for this episode is supplied by the appearance of a single historical personage, surrounded by and directing a group of workmen, citizens, or dignitaries, who are shown in some act that concerns these momentous events.

If one episode is static, the next should show motion; therefore the fourth episode is a dance, symbolical of the Chicago fire. One group of dancers represents the old city, another the flames and the smoke, while figures appearing later personify Desolation and Hunger. These are quickly overthrown, however, by another group typifying Hope, Ambition, Good Fortune, Success, and the New City.

The fifth episode is especially interesting and varied, as it shows the World's fair with groups of characters representing the different nations, with displays, exhibitions, drills, scenic effects, and novelties.

The final episode has to do with the spirit of the new Chicago. Here the meaning of the seal of Chicago is explained by groups of characters who are dressed to portray the features of the seal and who carry appropriate banners. All the activities of the modern city are shown: art, music, commerce. The close of the pageant should be elaborate and designed to leave a lasting impression. The cumulative inspiration of the preceding scenes is here heightened by means of numbers, music, and color, primarily the color of flags and banners. When possible, it is highly desirable that the pageant begin in the afternoon and last until the "edge of dark," the dusk, so that the definite lines may become softened and shadowy, and the commonplace may become poetic. Fireworks, high rockets, red lights and green, may, with their glow and spell, bring the spectacle to an impressive close.

After the pageant has been planned from the artistic side, the mechanical organization must next be considered; rehearsals, for instance, advertising, finances, and the preparation of the libretto. As the libretto explains the different episodes, it is

important to the audience and should, therefore, be prepared with care. The public seems especially to enjoy following the printed story of a pageant with the explanatory notes and finds these an aid to the imagination. The episodes should be listed in consecutive order and should have the appropriate titles, mottoes, and accompanying descriptive matter properly attached. Historical incidents, in particular, should be briefly outlined and symbolical dances and events interpreted. Rehearsals and matters of stage direction require systematic attention. Exits and entrances, in particular, should come in quick succession, or preferably, simultaneously; as one scene concludes and the characters leave, another group should appear in the distance, so that the interest never flags. Exits should be comparatively swift and should take place at the right or left of the foreground; entrances should be comparatively slow and made from the distant background. A diagonal entrance, from the rear to the center, is highly effective. To insure smooth and easy transitions, the exits and entrances should be rehearsed separately and repeatedly, after the episode itself has been completed.

Most of these technical matters depend on the pageant master. He, in the end, is the most important person, for he has all the final responsibility. He must be something of a dramatist, a dancing master, an advertising agent, and what not. His publicity campaign must include lectures, circulars, art posters, newspaper and magazine advertising. Through such mediums and through exhibitions of historical pictures and costumes, through city and house decorations, through street banners and parades, the pageant can be made "to revive and maintain the memory of the past, and to arouse and promote civic healthfulness."

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POSSIBILITIES IN STATE HISTORICAL CELEBRATIONS

The Indiana historical commission, a non-salaried commission created by the general assembly of 1915, was charged with two duties. Its immediate duty was that of a state centennial commission, and its permanent duty that of the publication of historical material relating to Indiana. The law provided that \$5,000, of the total appropriation of \$25,000, might be used for publication purposes.

The Indiana historical commission as a centennial commission on an appropriation of \$20,000 carried on a state-wide campaign of centennial publicity; it financially assisted in celebrations of state-wide significance; it made possible a state pageant master who could successfully introduce the pageant movement to the educators of our state; it secured as a permanent centennial reminder an artistic centennial medal; it made possible a motion picture of seven reels, depicting the history of the state; it gave an impetus to the study of our state's history and development in clubs and schools; it approved of and assisted in the pioneer mother memorial movement, and it unanimously supported the movement to secure the old capitol at Corydon for a permanent state memorial; it has been responsible for the erection of a large number of centennial memorials over the state. Perhaps its most permanent and far-reaching work has been the inauguration of a permanent state parks movement, which has already resulted in securing as a gift from the people of the state two tracts of real estate which have cost more than twice the amount appropriated for the use of this commission for centennial purposes. On the basis of the appropriation of \$5,000 for historical publications, the commission has issued three volumes and has another in press.

In a questionnaire addressed by the commission to the county centennial chairmen, covering the various phases of the year's

work, appeared this question: "What do you consider to have been the most helpful and permanent results of your celebration?" Two closely related facts stand out above all others in the answers: the arousing of a new interest in state and local history, and the creation of a community spirit and consciousness. The two are supplementary to each other and in a word express the vital significance of the celebrational activities of 1916.

From the bluffs of the Ohio to the sand dunes of lake Michigan there has been a general outburst of patriotic interest in Indiana and its history. The schools, as never before, have turned to a consideration of their own commonwealth; club programs have been given the same direction; by city, by township, and by county, facts of local history have been unearthed and rehearsed, both in print and in pageantry; pioneer relics and heirlooms have been rescued from the oblivion of hundreds of attics and displayed to an appreciative public; the state has been fairly dotted with memorial markers; centennial committees have developed into permanent historical societies.

A CAMPAIGN OF CENTENNIAL EDUCATION

When it was organized the immediate problem confronting the commission was one of publicity in the widest sense. The people of Indiana as a whole knew little and therefore cared little about the anniversary and its proper celebration. There was the usual amount of inertia to overcome, the ever-present demands of business life to meet, and an unusually active political campaign with which to compete for the attention of citizens. It was, therefore, no little task to educate and to arouse the state over the comparatively unexciting and unremunerative subject of centennial observance. Many and various were the means applied toward this end.

General bulletins setting forth comprehensively the purpose of the commission and presenting plans for a state-wide celebration were issued for wide distribution. A special bulletin was addressed to the county school superintendents asking their coöperation and pointing out how it might be given. Articles were prepared for newspapers, periodicals, and various news

agencies. Starting in September, 1915, the commission began the publication of a weekly news letter which served as a clearing house of information for the county chairmen and the press of the state. It was published regularly for a little more than a year. Primarily for the children, Miss Dye of the commission edited a department known as "The Centennial Story Hour," in the Sunday edition of the *Indianapolis Star*, in which leading facts of Indiana history were entertainingly told. She also organized the "State-wide Letter Exchange" among the school children, wherein pupils from different parts of the state wrote each other of the interesting things in the history and life of their respective neighborhoods.

Realizing the prime necessity of arousing the interest of the school population as a potent means of publicity, to say nothing of permanent results, the commission made an appeal directly to the teachers through the county institutes of the summer and fall of 1915. In this it had almost the unfailing coöperation of the county superintendents. With a volunteer force consisting chiefly of a half-dozen speakers, for the most part persons connected with the commission, a schedule was arranged by the director whereby practically all the county institutes were addressed in the interest of the centennial observance and of a more thorough study of the state itself.

A large number of addresses were made before clubs, commercial and civic organizations, historical societies, church organizations, and public gatherings of various kinds. The director and assistant director visited many sections of the state in carrying on the work of agitation and organization. While the majority of its meetings were held at the capital, the commission met a few times out in the state for the purpose of arousing interest in different sections and giving encouragement. On such occasions public meetings were generally held, at which speeches were made by members of the commission.

Many patriotic citizens who had no immediate connection with the commission volunteered their services as speakers and were used effectively. In anticipation of the year's demands for speakers in connection with the organization and celebrations, the commission organized a volunteer speakers' bureau. Men

and women throughout the state were called upon to donate their services in this direction, if needed, and almost no declinations were received.

As soon as the work of organizing the state was fairly well accomplished, the director issued a call to the county centennial chairmen to assemble at the capital early in December, for the purpose of discussing the practical problems confronting them in their work. The response was most hearty and encouraging. Busy men and women from all over the state spent the necessary time and money to be present and consider the best interests of Indiana in her centennial year. About fifty chairmen were in attendance and their interchange of ideas and plans was most helpful, exerting a profound influence on the work throughout the state. At this problem conference such subjects as county organization, finance, celebrational features, pageantry, home-coming, coöperation with the schools, permanent memorials, gathering historical materials, and publicity, were discussed.

For the purpose of giving added impetus to the preparations, and of calling attention to the industrial resources of the state, the secretaries of the commercial bodies of Indiana, at the state meeting in January, in conjunction with the director of the commission, set apart February 22, as a rallying point for centennial enthusiasm; and the governor issued a proclamation designating the day as "Indiana Products Day." On this patriotic date centennial banquets and dinners were held in many towns and cities, at which nothing but foods grown or manufactured in the state were served. Attention was thus called in a striking manner to our material resources, and an effective means was given whereby, in the after-dinner programs, interest and enthusiasm in the centennial program for the state might be aroused. The Indiana products day movement was organized and carried out by the commission.

Another effective means of obtaining publicity was that of the state park movement, launched and carried on under the auspices of the commission. The park campaign attracted wide notice and directed attention to the centennial propaganda of which it was a part.

George Ade, chairman of the state committee on home-coming,

did a valuable piece of work in advertising the centennial without, as well as within, Indiana. He compiled a unique series of Hoosierly greetings and invitations, contributed by Governor Ralston, Vice-president Marshall, ex-Vice-president Fairbanks, and by a galaxy of Indiana literary celebrities, which was published by the Bobbs-Merrill company as "An Invitation to You and Your Folks, from Jim and Some More of the Home Folks." This was widely distributed. The arrangement of a set of lantern slides illustrating the historical development of Indiana was found to be of educational value. These slides were circulated among schools and clubs of the state and have been in continuous use. They were provided by the commission but handled by the department of history and archives of the state library. In this connection it should be said that the state library coöperated heartily with the commission in its educative activities, particularly in the issue of bulletins which ably supplemented the commission's publications.

Under the general head of publicity and education there should be mentioned the promotion of the moving picture, "Indiana." The dramatization of the history of the state in the "movie" appealed strongly to the commission as a popular and impressive means of education, but it was evident that the commission was in no position to handle directly so big a project, and that the enterprise, if it should materialize, would have to be promoted as a business venture by private capital. A company, known as the Inter-state historical pictures corporation, which contracted with the commission to operate under its auspices and sanction, was formed by Indiana citizens. The corporation commissioned the Selig polyscope company of Chicago to produce the picture, on the basis of a scenario approved by the commission. Work was begun in the spring, and a seven-reel film was completed about the first of June. Owing to a combination of a late start and inclement weather, the picture was produced under somewhat unfavorable circumstances, causing some otherwise needless imperfections, but, on the whole, it presented a suitable and commendable picture show, suggestive of incidents in the historical life of Indiana.

In conclusion it must be stated that the newspapers throughout the state were naturally an important factor in whatever

success the commission achieved in carrying its message to the people. For the most part they manifested a patriotic and progressive interest in the cause, in the aid of which many were most generous.

CELEBRATIONS

With but \$20,000 at its disposal for celebrational activities, the commission faced a difficult problem. Such ambitious projects as those of centennial expositions and great central celebrations as had been carried out in other states, were manifestly out of the question. Moreover, the members were doubtful as to the desirability of such forms of observance, had they been possible. Their great concern was that the commemoration of our centenary might be such that it would reach the people throughout the entire state, quickening in them a renewed loyalty and a deeper sense of civic responsibility.

Actuated, therefore, by a wisely selected purpose as well as by financial necessity, the Indiana historical commission blazed the way to a new scheme of observance. In thorough keeping with our democratic institutions and political organization, it decided to decentralize the Indiana celebration, making it state-wide and of genuine interest to the people. It determined to make the anniversary mean as much in the extreme corner of the "pocket" as in the capital itself. With this end in view a campaign was vigorously undertaken in behalf of a state-wide celebration, twofold in its significance; historical, in the knowledge and appreciation of the state and its institutions, present as well as past; patriotic, in a new admiration and love for the Indiana that is and may be. In a word the commission went to the whole people of Indiana with this challenge: "This anniversary is an occasion for taking stock of our history, local as well as state, and of paying due tribute to the builders of the commonwealth. It is a patriotic service for hamlet and town and city. We may show thereby whether we appreciate and whether we are worthy of the deeds of our forefathers. It is our celebration, as a people, to make of it what we will." This is the Indiana experiment which has been watched with much interest by other states that are soon to observe their own centenaries.

Careful planning was necessary to insure a general observance, so the commission began organizing the state on the basis of the county. Centennial chairmen were secured in the various counties, each to select his own committee for the planning and execution of the work. Men and women from all walks of life accepted these posts of responsibility in the spirit of rendering a real public service, without hope of reward. In all but two or three counties, leaders were thus secured. With a few the leadership was nominal only, but the majority took up their work energetically and patriotically, several achieving results truly remarkable. On the whole it may be said that satisfactory work was done in most of the counties and that reasonably satisfactory results were obtained in from three-fourths to four-fifths of them. There were probably not a dozen counties in which some kind of celebration was not held.

The general schedule provided for the holding of local and school celebrations early in the spring. Many county school superintendents coöperated by setting apart one day of observance throughout the schools of their counties. This did much to prepare the way for the later celebrations, participated in more generally, beginning early in the summer and running well into the autumn. The greater number of the latter were county-wide in scope.

These county celebrations varied greatly in length, in content, and in the spirit which pervaded them. Some were for a day, others continued two or three days, and yet others for a week. As a whole they consisted of home-comings and reunions, historical and inspirational addresses and sermons, musical festivals and old melody concerts, exhibits of pioneer relics, industrial and agricultural displays, historical drama-pageants, folk dances, school drills, reproductions of pioneer life, centennial parades, and exercises in connection with the dedication of permanent memorials. A feature of not a few of these was the presentation of the moving picture, "Indiana." The commission did its utmost to see that these programs were strictly patriotic and centennial in nature, and such were the greater number. In some counties the observance was conducted in connection with chautauquas, industrial fairs, and county festivals, and in a few the centennial idea was prostituted for commercial

considerations. On the whole, however, it is felt by the commission that its plan for a state-wide celebration was realized both in scope and in spirit to a remarkable degree, considering the limited amount of funds at hand, and the short time for preparation. It has been a distinctive and impressive sight to see the great array of counties, following fast one after another, each making its own contribution to the centennial year, paying its own tribute to the state of which it is an integral part.

Two celebrations, however, were more than county and more than regional—those held at Indiana's two capitals, Corydon and Indianapolis, and they accordingly stood out from the others as state celebrations. The former, staged for two days, June 2 and 3, around the old Harrison county court house, the first capitol, and beneath the constitutional elm, portrayed vividly the beginnings of statehood. The latter, of two weeks' duration, October 2 to 15, at the present capital, depicted by means of a pageant and otherwise, the wonderful development of Indiana during the past century.

The commission feels that this decentralized observance, unique in the history of state centennial celebrations, has been of incalculable influence and significance. The centennial propaganda has been carried to the four corners of the state, and we have had the inspiring spectacle of a people of a commonwealth delighting to do it honor and reverence. A much more intimate and appreciative knowledge of the history of Indiana has resulted, together with a far better acquaintance with the present facts about the state, its geography, its people, its resources, and its possibilities. This bespeaks a greater and a more intelligent loyalty—the basis of a higher type of citizenship. The fact that the people as a whole in the various communities have united and coöperated in a way hitherto unknown means that in many cases a new community consciousness has been developed. Out of it all, likewise, has come a more perfect state consciousness which augurs well for Indiana, on the threshold of her second centenary.

PAGEANTRY

Two years ago he who spoke to Hoosiers of pageantry, spoke in an unknown tongue. The word was vaguely associated with those old worthies, "the boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,"

"magnificent spectacle," and "fanfare of trumpets," but was popularly synonymous with our old friend, tried and true, the "peerade." Today we laugh at such gross ignorance, for the centennial has made "pageant" one of the commonest of Hoosier household words, the pronunciation of which is the shibboleth, dividing the centennial elect from the medievalists.

When discussion as to ways and means of observing our anniversary became general, this old, though distant, acquaintance made its appearance, but in new clothing. In order to give it a proper and somewhat formal introduction, the state university brought William Chauncey Langdon of New York to Bloomington to give a course at the summer session of 1915 on the general subject of pageantry. It should be noted that the university had just issued a comprehensive bulletin on the subject by Dr. Withington of its English department. Through these and other agencies, the general content, scope, and purpose of the dramatic portrait of the community, past and present—a mirror in which the community sees itself as it has been, is, and as it may be—became familiar to people in country and town alike. The possibilities of pageantry appealed strongly to the commission as a means of drawing attention to Indiana history and of providing a form of observance which would draw whole communities together in a better understanding and appreciation of the history of their own neighborhood in relation to that of their state. It decided, therefore, to feature the pageant in such celebrations as should come more directly under its own auspices.

But pageantry as a real community effort and expression is a recent development, and there was felt the need of having some one with experience to "cut the pattern" for Indiana. The commission, therefore, in conjunction with and by means of the financial help of the university and Mr. Hugh McK. Langdon, secured the services of Mr. Langdon, the first president of the American pageant association, as state pageant master. The duties involved on his part were primarily the writing and directing of three pageants: one at the university, one at Corydon, and one at Indianapolis. At the same time the commission carried on a campaign of education throughout the state, by means of bulletins, its weekly news letter, and lectures, with

the purpose of impressing the people generally with the possibilities of the pageant as an agency of centennial observance. Effective work in this direction was done by Miss Charity Dye who had written the New Harmony pageant two years before. She traveled extensively over the state and was also the author of a very helpful bulletin, "Pageant suggestions for the Indiana statehood centennial celebration," published and distributed by the commission.

In these ways the leaven was provided and an interest was soon manifest. The first fruitage of all this propaganda was the university pageant at Bloomington, or more properly speaking, the Bloomington pageant. In a large sense it was what it was intended to be, a laboratory pageant, an object lesson to the people of Indiana. After having read and studied about pageantry, interested persons from far and near went to Bloomington to see and study at first hand.

One striking and significant development in the work should be noted. In the early stages of preparation the one great problem which presented itself to the various communities was that of authorship and direction. It was so serious that for a time it seemed probable that relatively few pageants would be attempted. Professional pageant masters were not at hand and imported ones constituted a luxury that few places could afford, even had they been available. But Hoosiers are nothing if not resourceful and versatile, particularly when a pad and pencil are involved. In short they were quick to "catch on," with the result that pageant writing was soon in progress by the home product route, from the Ohio northward. In all, some forty-five pageants were presented in 1916, and aside from those over which Mr. Langdon had control, all but about a half-dozen were written and directed by home talent. In some cases the results were somewhat crude to be sure, but they were the expression of the community. In other cases the "made in Indiana" pageants compared very favorably indeed with any given in the state. As an indication of the scope of the movement it is estimated that 250,000 citizens saw at least one pageant during the year, and that from 30,000 to 40,000 people participated in one of them.

For the most part these pageants, while presenting the broad

outlines of the history of the state as a whole, at the same time depicted the history of the more immediate neighborhoods in which they were given. In this way the local history of a very considerable part of the commonwealth was dramatized, since the geographical distribution of the pageants was rather surprisingly uniform, although the pageant area *par excellence* was that of the "pocket," the southwestern section of Indiana.

The most difficult problem, but the one in which the possibilities were greatest, was that of the county pageant in which parts were taken by the respective townships. It was a problem in unity and organization, but where successfully solved, the results achieved in bringing the whole county together as an organic community were in proportion to the difficulties overcome.

The commission considers this an excellent showing for one year's work, the merits of which are evident. By thus visualizing the past, its events were made more intelligible and interesting. As nothing else has done, the pageant brought all classes of a community together with a common purpose. Indeed whole counties were drawn together and old rivalries forgotten in a closer acquaintanceship and a better understanding. Moreover all was done in the name of Indiana, for which a deeper devotion was inspired.

In conclusion I would say, beware of commercialized patriotism; eliminate the street fair and carnival idea; do not make your organization too complex; do not attempt too many things; get a man with a newspaper pen but with historic instinct to handle publicity; send a good organizer over the state, into every county, to find local leaders who may be depended on; and localize rather than centralize your celebrational activities.

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SPANISH INFLUENCE IN THE WEST DURING THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By James A. James, *Northwestern University*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for September, 1917.]

THE PENNSYLVANIA BRIBERY BILL OF 1836

By Reginald C. McGrane, *University of Cincinnati*

[Incorporated in the author's *The crisis of 1837 and the subtreasury bill* (in press).]

SECTIONALISM IN KENTUCKY FROM 1855 TO 1865

By James R. Robertson, *Berea College*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for June, 1917.]

GLIMPSES OF SOME OLD MISSISSIPPI RIVER POSTS

By Louis Pelzer, *Iowa State University*

[Incorporated in the author's *Marches of the dragoons in the Mississippi valley* (State historical society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1917).]

THE MILITARY-INDIAN FRONTIER, 1830-1835

By Ruth A. Gallaher, *Iowa State University*

[Printed in the *Iowa journal of history and politics* for July, 1917.]

THE RISE OF SPORTS, 1876-1893

By Frederic L. Paxson, *University of Wisconsin*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for September, 1917.]

THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONFEDERACY: AN ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN INTERNAL CAUSES

By Lawrence H. Gipson, *Wabash College*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for March, 1918.]

THE PIONEER ARISTOCRACY

By Logan Esarey, *Indiana University*

[Printed in the *Indiana magazine of history* for September, 1917.]

SOME POSSIBILITIES OF HISTORICAL FIELD WORK

By Franklin F. Holbrook, *Minnesota Historical Society*

[Printed in the *Minnesota history bulletin* for May, 1917.]

NAUVOO: A POSSIBLE STUDY IN ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

By Theodore C. Pease, *University of Illinois*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for September, 1918.]

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WEST ON THE RISE AND FALL OF POLITICAL PARTIES

By Homer C. Hockett, *Ohio State University*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for March, 1918.]

A PLAN FOR THE UNION OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1866

By Theodore C. Blegen, *Riverside High School, Milwaukee*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for March, 1918.]

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE ILLINOIS RADICAL
REPUBLICANS

By Arthur C. Cole, *University of Illinois*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review* for March, 1918.]

THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION
SOCIETY

By Henry N. Sherwood, *State Normal School, La Crosse,
Wisconsin*

[Printed in the *Journal of Negro history* for July, 1917.]

PROGRESS WITHIN THE SUBJECT APPLIED TO HIGH
SCHOOL HISTORY

By R. M. Tryon, *University of Chicago*

[Printed in the *History teacher's magazine* for November, 1917.]

A COURSE IN SOCIOLOGICAL CIVICS

By William H. Hathaway, *Riverside High School, Milwaukee*

[Printed in the *School review* for December, 1917.]

